



The California Historical Society *Quarterly*

Wells Fargo Staging over the Sierra

By W. TURRENTINE JACKSON

California's Constitution of 1879: An Unpaid Debt

By KENNETH M. JOHNSON

The Missionization of the
Coast Miwok Indians of California

By CHARLES C. COLLEY

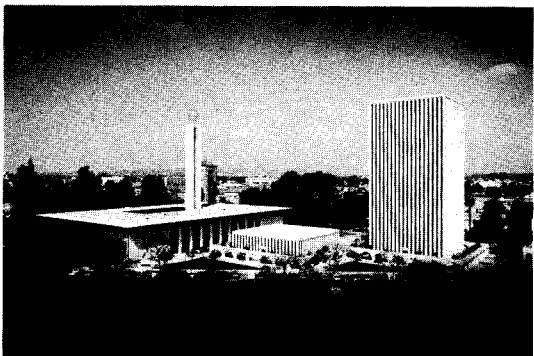
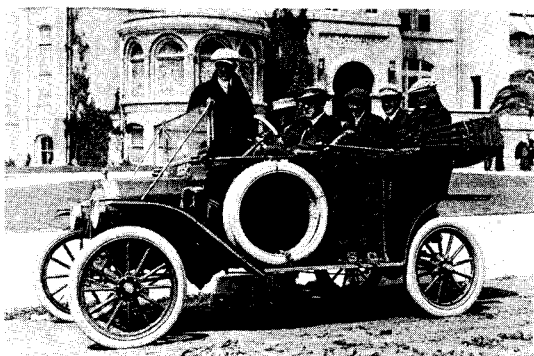
JUNE 1970

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SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA AND ITS UNIVERSITY



By MANUEL P. SERVÍN, *Associate Professor of History at the University of Southern California,* and IRIS HIGBIE WILSON, *Associate Professor of History at the University of San Diego.*



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Wells Fargo Staging over the Sierra

By W. TURRENTINE JACKSON

WELLS, FARGO & Co.'s interests in stagecoaches in the last century were many and varied. These included direct ownership and operation of stagelines, even though no provision was included in the firm's original articles of association specifically authorizing such activities.¹ Early announcements stated the company's intention to undertake the forwarding of "packages, parcels, and freight of all descriptions" between New York and San Francisco and throughout California, and to purchase and sell gold dust, bullion, and bills of exchange, to pay and collect notes, bills, and accounts, and to forward gold dust, bullion, and specie."² Securing adequate and reliable transportation was important from the first not only for the business of the company but also to provide passenger and mail transportation for the public.

Following the establishment of its Express and Banking Headquarters on Montgomery Street in San Francisco in July, 1852, Wells Fargo immediately started building up the network of express lines and offices which ultimately was to cover the entire western United States. First steps were to establish agencies in the principal California supply towns and goldmining camps and to assure the transportation services to connect them, whether by stagecoach, wagon, or pony rider. At this time, next in importance to San Francisco in the state, were three towns which served as gateways to the major mining areas: Marysville, Sacramento, and Stockton. To serve these centers and their hinterlands Wells Fargo either developed its own services or purchased the express and transportation facilities of other companies. In 1852, Wells, Fargo & Co. advertised that it was operating daily expresses to Marysville and Sacramento and had made arrangements to deliver into Stockton on C. A. Todd's "Southern Express."³ A year later Todd sold out his stage and express business to Wells

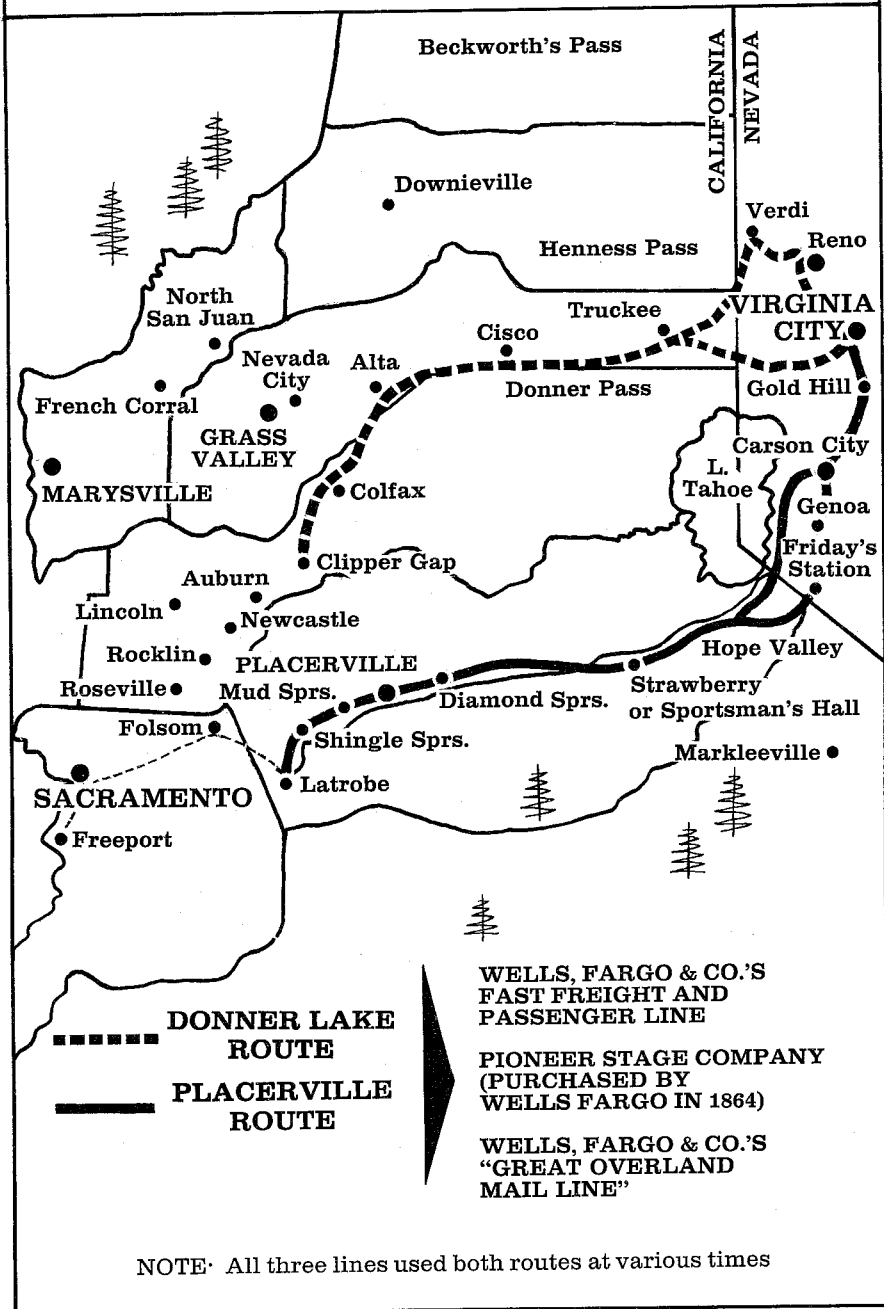
W. TURRENTINE JACKSON, a prolific and distinguished author of scholarly books and articles in Western United States history, is professor of history at the University of California, Davis.

Fargo.⁴ At Sacramento, connections were made with Hunter & Co.'s daily stages, in operation since 1851, to make deliveries into Placerville. In 1854, Wells, Fargo & Co. purchased Hunter & Co.'s Express and thereby obtained its stage equipment, offices, and express business in twenty-eight towns in El Dorado and Placer Counties.⁵ In Placer County, for example, the company advertised that it was conducting its business from three principal offices in Ophir, Auburn, and Yankee Jim's, with routes that extended to every camp and bar where miners were congregated.⁶ In this manner, within a period of two or three years a communications network had been established to make the company's services available in the most strategic areas of California.

Wells Fargo's direct ownership and operation of trans-Sierra stagelines began in June of 1864 with the starting of a "Fast Freight Line"⁷ which the following year began carrying passengers⁸ and was later advertised as "Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Fast Freight and Passenger Line."⁹ As far as passengers were concerned, this was always a second class line offering transportation at cut rates. Later in 1864 Wells Fargo purchased the very popular and well-equipped Pioneer Stage Line from Louis McLane & Co.¹⁰ and at first operated this line as a wholly owned subsidiary under the Pioneer name. For nearly two years it was not generally known to the public that the line was owned by Wells Fargo. In November, 1866, newspapers throughout the nation carried the sensational news of a "Grand Consolidation" combining in one firm an enormous express and staging empire. Wells, Fargo & Co. and its subsidiary, the Pioneer Stage Company, had been consolidated with the Overland Mail Co. and the Holladay Overland Mail and Express Co. In addition, the express business of the American Express Co. and the United States Express Co. west of the Missouri River were included in the firm known as Wells, Fargo & Co.¹¹ Two-thirds of the directors of the consolidated company had been associated with the original Wells, Fargo & Co., and Louis McLane, who had been Wells Fargo's general manager for California since 1855, was elected president of the new company.¹²

In considering Wells Fargo's trans-Sierra stagelines we shall be concerned with two main routes over the mountains: one between Placerville, California, and Virginia City, Nevada, running south of Lake Tahoe and known as the "Placerville Route," and one running north of Lake Tahoe and generally referred to as the "Dutch Flat-

WELLS FARGO'S TRANS-SIERRA STAGELINE ROUTES



Donner Lake Route." Both routes were subject to minor shifts from time to time because of weather or other considerations. The Pioneer Line began on the Placerville route and added the Donner Lake route in 1865.¹³ Wells Fargo's Fast Freight Line also started on the Placerville route, moved to the Donner Lake route in 1866,¹⁴ but at times was again run over the Placerville route.¹⁵ Following the 1866 consolidation, Wells Fargo ran its Overland Mail Line across the Sierra at first by both routes,¹⁶ but then with increasing emphasis on the Donner Lake route until mid-1868 when the trans-Sierra part of Wells Fargo's staging was rendered superfluous by the pushing eastward of the Central Pacific Railroad from Sacramento as far as Reno.¹⁷

The above outline of the pattern of Wells Fargo stagecoach operations was obtained for the most part by thorough perusal of the extensive material in extant files of the newspapers published between 1852 and 1870 in California, Nevada, and Utah communities along the trans-Sierra and central Overland Mail routes. In these areas matters pertaining to communication and the transportation of mail, passengers, express and freight were of vital concern and closely followed by the press. Editors tried to keep readers abreast of important developments and at the same time to amuse them with the colorful adventures of well-known stageline personnel.¹⁸ Their newspaper columns reveal the following account of Wells, Fargo & Co. activities.

The needs for, and opportunities in transportation over the Sierra commanded attention following the discovery of precious metals on the eastern slope of the Sierra in 1859. With the rapid development of the Comstock Lode and nearby Nevada mining areas, the geographic advantages possessed by San Francisco, Sacramento, and Placerville with respect to trade with the Washoe mines immediately became apparent. Placerville quickly moved into position as the most thriving mining and business center between Sacramento and Virginia City. Its competitors, Grass Valley and Nevada City, looked to Marysville, rather than Sacramento, as a supply base and communications headquarters.

Transportation over the Sierra from Placerville was provided early in 1857 when Colonel J. B. Crandall instituted a tri-weekly

stage to Genoa in Carson Valley by way of Sportsman's Hall, Brockliss Bridge, Silver Creek, Lake Bigler (Tahoe), Hope Valley, and Cary's Mill. In a few months this line became part of the Pioneer Stage Line which had been operating between Sacramento and Placerville. Crandall was appointed operations superintendent of the Pioneer, which now carried passengers and the United States Mail from Sacramento all the way across the mountains. It also carried Theodore Tracy's Carson Valley Express which connected with Wells Fargo's express at Placerville.¹⁹

The Pioneer Stage Line by 1859 had passed to ownership of Lewis Brady & Co.,²⁰ and a second line across the Sierra between Placerville and Carson Valley, with a semi-weekly service, had been started by J. A. "Snowshoe" Thompson.²¹ Louis McLane, in partnership with his brother, Charles, and while holding his position as General Agent and Chairman of the California Board of Control of Wells Fargo, organized Louis McLane & Co.²² On September 12, 1860, the *Placerville Mountain Democrat* revealed that Louis McLane & Co. had purchased the Pioneer Line and had placed daily stages on the route establishing a two-day service between San Francisco and the Washoe country.²³ From this date forward Wells, Fargo & Co.'s express deliveries were totally integrated with the stagecoach service of the Pioneer Company.²⁴

Historians have long debated whether or not Wells, Fargo & Co. and McLane not only recognized the potential importance of transporting passengers and express to the Washoe mines, but also anticipated the transfer of the transcontinental overland mail from the southern to the central route. Certainly their competitors, the California Stage Company, thought so. A. C. Richardson, a director in Sacramento, wrote Frank S. Stevens, Vice-President in the east: "Do you or can you find out if W. F. & Co. is at the bottom of it? The Carson Valley route is carried out in a most expensive manner & is run daily all winter. You and I would take off half the stock. If Wells F & Co. want to buy out can arrange with them to take all our routes except the Sacto to Portland." In May, Richardson wrote, "Our staging out of Sacramento we hope to close out to McLane." A week later he reported, "I was in San Fran yesterday & gave McLane a chance to talk staging to me. He did not suggest buying out our Sacto staging. It is no use to *try* to sell him but if he *comes to us* we will try

mighty hard to sell bet you?" When the news was received that Congress had authorized a daily Overland Mail on the central route and abolished the southern route, Richardson reported, "This makes us think that McLane had his mind on this when he bought . . . [the Pioneer]." ²⁵

The transfer of the transcontinental overland mail in 1861 from the southern to the central route immediately enhanced the business and importance of the Pioneer Stage Line. The Overland Mail Company had been organized in 1857 by four of the major express companies — American, National, Adams, and Wells, Fargo & Co. — to transport United States Mails between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Coast. From the first, Wells, Fargo & Co. had served as the "banker" for the mail enterprise, advancing funds to M. L. Kinyon who was charged with locating and stocking the route and with the construction of stations from San Francisco to the Rio Grande River at El Paso. Kinyon reported on his activities through Louis McLane. The Overland Mail Company made arrangements for its agents to obtain funds by presenting drafts to Wells, Fargo & Co., and the outstanding indebtedness mounted month by month. ²⁶ By August, 1859, Wells Fargo directors who also sat on the Board of the Overland Mail Company expressed concern over the management and excessive expenditures of the mail company. Acrimony developed among the directors that reached a climax on March 19, 1860, when William G. Fargo moved that the Overland Mail Company assign all its equipment and interest in the mail service to Wells, Fargo & Co. to secure an outstanding debt of \$162,400 and funds "that may hereafter be advanced." Instead, however, a compromise was worked out whereby John Butterfield was voted out of the Presidency of the Overland Mail Company and William B. Dinsmore, sponsored by Wells Fargo directors, was elected. Four of the ten directors of the Overland Mail Company at the time of its inception had also been directors in Wells, Fargo & Co. At this time of crisis a vacancy had been declared on the Board and B. P. Cheney, a large stockholder in Wells, Fargo & Co., was elected, thus giving the express and banking firm a dominant voice in policy. ²⁷

The following year, on March 2, 1861, Congress passed a law providing for a daily overland mail on the central route and a semi-weekly Pony Express with \$1,000,000 compensation for the joint

undertaking.²⁸ The first two weeks of March were taken to work out details of the service with the Overland Mail Company, the only serious contender for the contract. Wells, Fargo & Co. directors went to Washington, D. C., from New York to participate in these negotiations and represent the interests of that company.²⁹ On March 16, 1861, a subcontract was made with William H. Russell of the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company whereby the latter was engaged to carry the mails between the Missouri River and Salt Lake City. This line was taken over and expanded by Ben Holladay the following year. As a part of the subcontract arrangement, Wells, Fargo & Co. was granted exclusive right to handle all express business coming from the east to points west of Salt Lake City and all express business originating in the west that was headed east.³⁰ The Overland Mail Company assumed direct responsibility for mail services by its stages and Pony Express from Salt Lake City to the California border, but negotiated a contract with the Pioneer Stage Company between July and September, 1861, to handle the mail business by stage between Placerville and Carson City, Nevada.³¹ Wells, Fargo & Co. directors and shareholders serving on the Board of the Overland Mail Company were exceptionally influential in awarding this contract to their loyal general agent in California whose business interests were identical with their own.

In July, 1861, departure of the first stagecoach over the Central Overland route and arrival of the first daily mail from the east were occasions for enthusiastic celebrations in the streets of Placerville.³² Wells, Fargo & Co. and the Pioneer Stage Company operated out of the same offices and employed the same men at the agencies in Placerville, Carson City, Gold Hill, and Virginia City. For example, Theodore F. Tracy served both companies in Placerville and was commended repeatedly in the press for popular services to the public.³³ By February, 1862, the Pioneer Stage Company was running two daily stages from Virginia City: one a "Fast Line" carrying businessmen, the U. S. Mails, and Wells, Fargo & Co. express directly into Sacramento in less than thirty hours; and another "Accommodation Line" stopping overnight in Strawberry Valley and Placerville that took two days to reach the California capital.³⁴ The year 1863 was one of crowning success both for the Pioneer Stage Company and Wells, Fargo & Co. from the standpoint of extensive patronage,

financial gain, and public esteem.³⁵ The Pioneer stages carried 10,500 through passengers from San Francisco, via Placerville, across the Sierra to western Nevada in the last six months of 1863. These stages also carried bullion, mail, and express matter amounting to about two thousand pounds each way daily.³⁶

By April, 1864, the Pioneer Stage Company was challenged by many competitors: Langton's Pioneer Express and Stage Line running from Virginia City, Nevada, to Nevada City and Marysville, California, by way of the Henness Pass route; the California Stage Company on a route north of Lake Tahoe by way of Lake City, Nevada City, Grass Valley, Lincoln, and Sacramento, also making connections for Marysville; and the Pacific Stage and Express Co. operating from Virginia City via Truckee Meadows, Crystal Peak, Nevada City, Grass Valley, Auburn, and Newcastle into Sacramento. The Pioneer stages began making the fastest time ever, covering the distance between Virginia City and Folsom, where the railroad cars could be boarded for Sacramento, in twenty-two hours.³⁷ By June the time of stage travel was further shortened when the Placerville and Sacramento Railroad reached Latrobe and the stage schedule was coordinated with those of the railroad and the steamers operating between Sacramento and San Francisco. The *Virginia City Daily Union* reported, "There are running between Placerville and Latrobe 6 coaches, between Carson and Virginia 2 coaches daily each way. . . . There are 600 horses in daily use, and 53 drivers and hostlers employed."³⁸ The volume of stage business was so great the Pioneer Stage Company announced that by December, 1864, it would run four coaches daily in each direction.³⁹ The California Steam Navigation Company's steamboats were stopping at Freeport where passengers took the railroad cars to Latrobe, connecting there with the stagecoach. The Pioneer Stage Company now advertised a twenty-four-hour trip from San Francisco to Virginia City, crossing the mountains by daylight and at a reduced fare of \$15 for the stage ride.⁴⁰ The Pioneer Company had to look to its laurels, however, because the California Stage Company, running on the Donner Lake route from the railhead of the Central Pacific at Newcastle, via Dutch Flat, succeeded on occasions in delivering the San Francisco newspapers in Virginia City within twenty hours.⁴¹ In spite of competition, business was so heavy that the Pioneer Stage Company had to establish

a second office in Placerville at the Merchants Exchange on C Street opposite the International Hotel, in charge of Alex. Hunter, to accommodate its many patrons.⁴² Throughout summer and autumn the stages ran like clockwork, connecting with the cars of the Freeport and Placerville & Sacramento Valley Railroad; by November they encountered the annual difficulty in maintaining their schedule during winter storms.⁴³

It was at this time of burgeoning traffic and activity that Wells, Fargo & Co. bought the Pioneer Stage Line from Louis McLane & Co. Unknown to the public and to California and Nevada newspaper editors, Wells Fargo & Co. between July and December, 1864, had been conducting negotiations for the purchase of the Pioneer Stage Company. Louis McLane had submitted a proposition to sell his interest in the stage company and several months of correspondence and debate preceded the final action of the Board on December 15, 1864. "On the motion of Mr. Morgan & seconded by Mr. Fargo," according to Wells Fargo's Minute Book, a resolution "that the purchase by DN Barney, Prest., of the 'Pioneer Stage Company' in California for the sum of One Hundred & Seventy five thousand dollars (\$175,000), payable in gold in San Francisco, be & the same is hereby approved, passed unanimously."⁴⁴ Information concerning this purchase was not made public, apparently because Wells, Fargo & Co. was dependent upon such stage lines as the California Stage Co. and Langton's Pioneer Express and Stage Co., competitors with the Pioneer Stage Company on the trans-Sierra route, to deliver express elsewhere in California. A sound business decision was made to operate the Pioneer Stage Company as a subsidiary, for a time, rather than reveal the company's direct ownership and operation of stages.

Also in 1864, Wells, Fargo & Co. established in June a new service in its own name over the Placerville route to carry "express freight" between Virginia City and San Francisco by a fast stage line for fifteen cents a pound.⁴⁵ This new stagecoach operation was extensively advertised throughout western Nevada.⁴⁶ By the following year it was also carrying passengers on its freight stages at rates substantially below those of the Pioneer and other lines.⁴⁷

As competition between the railroad-stage lines to the north and south of Lake Tahoe intensified during 1865, various newspapers, as spokesmen for their communities, noted events and promoted

the cause of their favorite route or company. Sacramento newspapers had a tendency to favor the Central Pacific-California Stage Company's operation by way of Newcastle and along the Dutch Flat-Donner Lake road. On the other hand, Placerville, Carson City, and Gold Hill editors were active partisans in behalf of the Pioneer Stage Company's route.⁴⁸ Newspapers in Virginia City were more objective and reliable in appraising developments.⁴⁹ In April, 1865, the Placerville and Sacramento Valley Railroad had reached Spring Garden, five miles from Latrobe, and in another month it was to be completed to Shingle Springs, about ten miles from Placerville, where the stages would be running throughout the summer.⁵⁰ In May, the Pioneer Stage Company had rerouted its line between Carson City and Placerville to run along the banks of Lake Tahoe rather than on the Genoa road to the south of the lake. The *Carson Daily Appeal* suggested, "The change is a commendable one. . . . Those who are fortunate enough to pass this road in daylight are afforded a fair opportunity of seeing the magnificent scenery of Lake Tahoe, as the stages run along the bank for several miles."⁵¹ On August 26, 1865, railroad cars were withdrawn from the Freeport Railroad. The Pioneer stages ran to the railhead at Shingle Springs and passengers took the train directly into Sacramento by way of Folsom. The alternative route by Freeport was abandoned.⁵² Railroad construction continued on the line into Placerville, now less than ten miles away, and the contractor expected to have the rails completed to Mud Springs by October 1.⁵³ Meanwhile, on the Donner Lake route the Central Pacific was also making progress in construction. On May 10, 1865, the railhead was moved from Newcastle to Clipper Gap. On August 23, 1865, the *Auburn Stars and Stripes* revealed, "Monday afternoon the last trestle of the Pacific Railroad between Clipper Gap and Colfax was finished and received the track. Within fifteen days, we are confidently assured, the road will have been completed to Colfax."⁵⁴ (Colfax was fifty-four miles from Sacramento, with fifty-one miles yet to go to the summit and one hundred miles to Reno.) Each of the stage lines attempted to provide the most convenient and inexpensive service while maintaining the fastest possible time. Additional stagecoaches were put on to accommodate businessmen in a hurry as well as travelers who wished a leisurely ride. Schedules were repeatedly adjusted to meet the arrival times of trains and steamers. As competition increased,

The Pioneer Stage Line

WELLS FARGO'S PURCHASE OF THE PIONEER LINE

*New York Dec. 15. 1864
82 Broadway*

*On Motion of Mr Morgan &
Seconded by Mr Fargo Resolved, that the
purchase by W. F. Fargo, Part of the
Pioneer Stage Company in California,
for the sum of One Hundred & Seventy five
thousand dollar (\$75,000) payable in
gold in San Francisco, be of the same
hereby approved, paid unanimously,*

Minutes of Board of Directors of
Wells, Fargo & Co., December 15, 1864.

ACQUISITION OF THE DONNER LAKE ROUTE

OUR STAGE LINES.—On and after the first of the coming month, Louis McLane & Co., having purchased the California stage line, running over the Dutch Flat and Donner Lake route, the stages of that line will leave the present office of the Pioneer line, at Wells, Fargo & Co.'s, at the usual time, that hereafter being the office of each line, both lines belonging to the same company. Passengers can of course take their choice of either the Placerville or Dutch Flat routes, as heretofore. No changes will be made, but the coaches and everything will run as at present, and the bullion, treasure, etc., will be carried as at present. The stages of the Placerville route will still connect with the cars at Shingle Springs, as heretofore, which run now to Sacramento, instead of to Freeport. There will be no change in the office of the company at Wells, Fargo & Co.'s, the present employes being retained, and attending to the business of both routes. This will be a good arrangement for the traveling public, and one that will be appreciated. Both routes are in the finest possible order, with the best of drivers, horses and coaches.

The Daily Union, (Virginia City),
August 31, 1865, pg. 3, col. 1.
Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

CHOICE OF ROUTES

PIONEER STAGE CO.'S GREAT EXPRESS

AND

UNITED STATES MAIL LINE

BETWEEN

San Francisco and Virginia.



Through in 24 Hours.

VIA

DUTCH FLAT & DONNER LAKE ROUTE
AND CENTRAL PACIFIC RAILROAD

TO SACRAMENTO,

AND VIA

PLACERVILLE & LAKE BIGLER ROUTE
AND PLACERVILLE SACRAMENTO
VALLEY RAILROAD

TO SACRAMENTO.

PASSENGERS LEAVING SAN FRANCISCO BY
Boat at 4 p. m. will take the Cars at Sacra-
mento, on both roads, at 6:30 a. m. for the Lake
Bigler Route, will change to Stages at Shingle
Springs. For Donner Lake Route, at Colfax Station.
Arriving in Virginia, by both Lines, in 36 hours from
San Francisco—

CROSSING THE MOUNTAINS BY DAYLIGHT.

RETURNING

Leave Virginia, via Placerville and Lake Bigler
Route, at 1 p. m. and 4 p. m., connecting at Sacra-
mento with San Francisco Boat at 2 p. m. next day.
The 1 p. m. Stage will connect with the first morning
Train at Shingle Springs, giving passengers 6 hours
in Sacramento. By the Dutch Flat and Donner
Lake Route, will leave Virginia at 4:15 p. m., con-
necting at Sacramento with San Francisco Boat at
2 p. m. next day.

The Daily Union, (Virginia City),
September 1, 1865, pg. 2, col. 4
Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

the partisan press suggested, "The Pioneer is the only decent route to California," or "The Pioneer is just snatching things baldheaded, and runs ahead of any consumption ranch on the coast," or "Everything rides on the Pioneer now-a-days," or "Bully for the Pioneer."⁵⁵

Notwithstanding the Pioneer Line's success on the Placerville route, the significance of the Central Pacific's progress up into the Sierra foothills and the prospect that in perhaps three years the railroad would be pushed over the mountains and down into Nevada was not lost upon Wells Fargo and its general manager, McLane. At the close of August, 1865, California and Nevada newspapers revealed this important development: The Pioneer Stage Co., owned by Wells, Fargo & Co., had purchased the Donner Lake route of the California Stage Company.⁵⁶ The purchase was formally announced by the *Daily Union* of Virginia City:

Our Stage Lines. On and after the first of the coming month, Louis McLane & Co. having purchased the California Stage line, running over the Dutch Flat and Donner Lake route, the stages of that line will leave the present office of the Pioneer Line, at Wells, Fargo & Co.'s, at the usual time, that hereafter being the office of each line, both lines belonging to the same company. Passengers can of course take their choice of either the Placerville or Dutch Flat routes, as heretofore. No changes will be made, but the coaches and everything will run as at present, and bullion, treasure, etc. will be carried as at present. The stages of the Placerville route will still connect with the cars at Shingle Springs, as heretofore, which run now to Sacramento, instead of Freeport. There will be no change in the office of the company at Wells, Fargo & Co.'s, the present employees being retained, and attending to the business of both routes. This will be a good arrangement for the traveling public, and one that will be appreciated. Both routes are in the finest possible order, with the best of drivers, horses and coaches.⁵⁷

John J. Valentine, agent in Virginia City for both Wells, Fargo & Co. and the Pioneer Stage Company, placed advertisements in western Nevada newspapers announcing that "Pioneer Stages" would be run along both the north and south shores of Lake Tahoe by the Dutch Flat and Placerville roads.⁵⁸ "One thing is certain, we believe now, as honestly as yore, that the old Pioneer route via Placerville is by far the best, easiest and most pleasant for travelers, and would advise anyone to go that way who wishes a comfortable journey," admonished the editor of the *Gold Hill News*.⁵⁹ Virginia City newspapers noted

a curtailment of service on the Placerville route for about three weeks while stock and equipment were shifted to the other route. Under the "New Stage Arrangement" the main stage route of the Pioneer Line was expected to be by Dutch Flat to Colfax, the new terminus of the Central Pacific Railroad.⁶⁰ The California towns most affected by the Pioneer Company's purchase of the California Stage Company and the resulting curtailment of competition on the trans-Sierra stage service, were those on the Nevada City-Grass Valley-Marysville route, and local newspapers reported the change either reluctantly or without comment.⁶¹

Soon the possibility of another purchase by the Pioneer Stage Company was being discussed by the press. The *Nevada Daily Gazette* of Nevada City, California, reported that negotiations were under way for the sale of the stage route operated by the California Stage Company between that city and Colfax to the Pioneer Stage Company.⁶² Many changes in the express and stagecoach business were taking place in these months as the California Stage Company withdrew from stage operations. The *Gazette* observed, "Wells, Fargo & Co. are gradually extending their express business over all the lines of communication on this coast, and will probably at an early day have possession of all the scattering routes now held by the smaller companies."⁶³

In 1865-1866, the express and stage business between California and western Nevada continued to boom. Space in the office building in Virginia City occupied by Wells, Fargo & Co. and the Pioneer Stage Company was reassigned to make room for the United States Pacific Telegraph Office thereby facilitating the services of all three companies.⁶⁴ In Gold Hill a new building had been erected by the Pioneer Stage Company including blacksmith, wagon repair, and paint shops where stagecoaches could be refurbished. At this commodious establishment numerous mechanics were employed and the local press referred to the company payroll as "enormous", amounting to more than company receipts in Storey county.⁶⁵ Wells, Fargo & Co. and the Pioneer Stage Company continued to occupy the same office building in Carson City and their transportation services for passengers, mails, express, and freight were totally integrated.⁶⁶ During the winter of 1865-1866 the Pioneer stagecoaches ran on alternate routes as weather conditions dictated. When

the Dutch Flat route was closed by winter snows, the Pioneer Stage Company announced that its stock and equipment on the Lake Tahoe route, where the Placerville stages had been running for seven months, would be transferred back to the year-round road a little farther south through Genoa and that until further notice all stages to and from California would run on that route.⁶⁷ By January, 1866, passengers were being carried across the Sierra summit on both routes by sleighs. Leaving Virginia City in sleighs drawn by six horses, travelers were transported eighty miles on the Donner Lake route before transferring to wagons. Sixty miles of the Placerville route was covered by sleighs.⁶⁸ When regular stagecoach service was resumed in the spring, Carson City residents began to complain about the slow delivery of mail over the Placerville route, and a distrustful local editor speculated that an overnight stopover was made at Strawberry so the service over this route would not be so much faster than that of the railroad-stage route by way of Dutch Flat.⁶⁹

In April, 1866, John J. Valentine, Wells Fargo-Pioneer agent in Virginia City, was named superintendent of all the California-Nevada routes and William G. (Billy) Crandall was promoted from the Carson City office of the Pioneer Stage Company to Virginia City to replace Valentine. The Wells, Fargo & Co. agent in Carson City assumed Crandall's responsibilities there.⁷⁰ A few months later, Theodore F. Tracy, General Agent of the Pioneer Stage Company and an old resident of Placerville, was appointed General Agent for the Banking and Express Department of Wells, Fargo & Co. in Salt Lake City.⁷¹ By this time the frequent and free interchange of employees between the two companies and the practice of sharing office space led gradually to public suspicion that Wells, Fargo & Co. owned and controlled the Pioneer Stage Company.

From 1866 on, the pattern of trans-Sierra staging depended in large measure on the progress of railroad construction and upon the ability of the Central Pacific to keep the completed part of the railroad open and running under the varying weather conditions. It took the Central Pacific a little over ten months from September 1, 1865, to July 10, 1866, to complete the fifteen-mile section from Colfax to Alta, bringing it within thirty-six miles of the summit.⁷² In anticipation of additional construction, Wells, Fargo & Co. had already established an express office in the new and flourishing town of Cisco.⁷³ By

December, 1866, the railroad had completed the additional twenty-three miles to that station.⁷⁴ The Pioneer Stage Company then began placing greater emphasis on its Donner Lake route, and when service on its Placerville line was reduced to one stage daily, rather than two, residents of that community made no attempt to conceal their disappointment.⁷⁵ The comparative advantages of the two routes north and south of Lake Tahoe continued to be debated in the press,⁷⁶ with Gold Hill, Carson City, and particularly Austin, Nevada, holding to the hope that the Sacramento Valley Railroad would muster the financial backing to put its line over the Sierra from Placerville along a route south of Lake Tahoe. This hope was doomed to frustration. The Central Pacific moved its construction rapidly forward by employing a work force estimated at ten thousand and announced its plans to reach the summit of the Sierra before the end of 1867.⁷⁷ Meanwhile a three-way quarrel developed over the Placerville and Sacramento Valley Railroad between Louis McLane, representing Wells, Fargo & Co. that had advanced money to facilitate the construction; L. L. Robinson, representing the first mortgage holders; and the county of El Dorado and the city of Placerville that had subscribed \$300,000 in railroad bonds. Hope finally being abandoned for building beyond Placerville across the Sierra, McLane worked to arrange a compromise among investors in the project so the line could be finished at least into Placerville.⁷⁸ Between March and August, 1866, financial pressures from the Central Pacific had discouraged the completion of a rival line. Under the circumstances, Louis McLane recognized that the future route across the Sierra, temporarily for stages and later for the railroad, definitely would be by Dutch Flat and Donner Lake.

Wells, Fargo & Co. continued the operation of its "Fast Freight and Passenger" line over the Placerville route. "The class of persons who prefer going on these lines, are people who wish to save their money, time not being so much consequence to them as cash," commented the editor of the *Gold Hill News*. "All things considered, these Fast Freight wagons are really quite comfortable — having boxes to sit upon, and large comfortable robes to cover up with. The teams are equal to the best stage horses in use; and the drivers are careful and accommodating."⁷⁹ Beginning in July, 1865, Wells, Fargo & Co. launched an advertising campaign offering to carry

Wells, Fargo & Co.'s "Fast Freight and Passenger Line"

PLACERVILLE ROUTE

WELLS, FARGO & CO.'S FAST FREIGHT LINE!



WE ARE NOW RUNNING A DAILY LINE
of Thorough-Brace Wagons to and from

SACRAMENTO AND VIRGINIA,

—CARRYING—

Freight and Passengers!

Lower than any other line crossing the mountains

Parties desiring to ship their Freight lower than by any other Line will mark their Goods: "Care Wells, Fargo & Co's Fast Freight Line," at Sacramento and Latrobe.

Freight to and from Sacramento or San Francisco Ten (10) Cents per pound.

Passage \$10 to Shingle Springs. Through in Thirty-six Hours.

Office, CARSON CITY, at Wells, Fargo & Co.'s. W.M. G. CRANDALL, Agent.

The Carson Daily Appeal,

July 4, 1865, pg. 2, col. 4.

Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

TRAGEDY

FROZEN TO DEATH.—On last Sunday night, when Wells, Fargo & Co.'s fast freight stage arrived at Crystal Lake, a man who had been riding on the back part of the stage, got off and walked into the house, and as he approached the fire he fell on the floor and expired. A doctor who examined the body said that the deceased had "frozen to death." No one knew who the man was, or where he got on the stage; he had no baggage, and was only protected from the cold by a linen coat.

The Daily Union, (Virginia City),

October 16, 1866, pg. 3, col. 1.

Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

DONNER LAKE ROUTE

Wells, Fargo & Co.'s



FAST FREIGHT

—AND—

PASSENGER LINE,

—TO—

CALIFORNIA,

Through from San Francisco in 40 hours!

From Alta in22 hours!

ON AND AFTER MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 31, 1866, we will run a

Daily Fast Freight & Passenger line,

From Virginia City to Alta, Cal., through in 22 hours. Leaving Alta on arrival of morning train of cars, reaching Virginia next morning at 8 o'clock. Returning, will leave Virginia at 7 o'clock A. M., connecting at Alta with 10 o'clock A. M. train the following day.

FREIGHT:

From San Francisco, 7 Cts. per Lb.

From Sacramento, 6 Cts. per Lb.

From Alta, 5 Cts. per Lb.

Freight will be promptly delivered at Gold Hill and Silver City, at same rates as at Virginia.

Passengers will be carried at lower rates than by any other Line.

WELLS, FARGO & CO.,

By J. H. LATHAM, Agent.

Gold Hill, August 31, 1866.

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Gold Hill Daily News,

August 31, 1866, pg. 2, col. 5.

Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

passengers from western Nevada to the railhead at Shingle Springs in thorough-brace wagons for a minimum fee of \$10, in contrast to the \$25 charged by the Pioneer Stage Company's fast stagecoaches.⁸⁰ Invariably the newspaper advertisements of Wells Fargo's "Fast Freight and Passenger Service" included cuts of stagecoaches identical with those printed in the advertisements of the California Stage Co. or Pioneer Stage Company, suggesting that any difference in accommodations was considered minimal.⁸¹ Virginia City's *Daily Union* noted that Wells, Fargo & Co. was carrying both freight and passengers at lower rates than any other line crossing the mountains. "This line is of inestimable importance to the business as well as the traveling public," observed the editor.⁸² Passengers were accommodated by this service into the winter months.⁸³

At the beginning of September, 1866, Wells, Fargo & Co. introduced a "Fast Freight and Passenger Line" on the Dutch Flat road running from Virginia City to Alta, at the time the terminus of the Central Pacific, in twenty-two hours, making connection with the railroad cars for Sacramento that arrived in time for passengers to take the boat to San Francisco.⁸⁴ The company advertised that passengers would be carried to Alta for \$5 or booked through to Sacramento for \$12 prompting an editorial comment, "We call that pretty tolerable cheap traveling."⁸⁵ This service, like the similar service on the Placerville route, continued right into the winter months with thorough-brace wagons and stagecoaches being used interchangeably as the situation demanded or at the convenience of the company.⁸⁶

In the transportation field, staging over the Sierra was not all that was on Wells Fargo's mind in 1866. Big news was brewing in connection with the trans-continental overland mail. Throughout the year the editorial column of the *Reese River Reveille*, Austin, Nevada, publicized the growing antagonism on the part of the mail contractors on the "western side," the Overland Mail Company and the Pioneer Stage Company, toward Ben Holladay and his Holladay Overland Mail and Express Co. which had the United States Mail contract for that part of the overland line east of Salt Lake City. Wells, Fargo & Co. and the Overland Mail Company were thoroughly dissatisfied with the way Holladay was conducting his part of the line,⁸⁷ and Louis McLane was known to be eager to have Wells Fargo

take over the entire route. As early as August, 1866, the Austin, Nevada, newspaper was quoting reliable sources "that the contractors on this end of the Overland Mail route, have purchased Ben Holladay's interest and are about consolidating the whole route under one company."⁸⁸ The *Alta California* of San Francisco was the first to break the news in November, 1866, under the heading: "A Great Enterprise." "We understand that Wells, Fargo & Co., the Pioneer Stage Company, the Overland Mail Company, and Holladay's Overland Mail Company, have consolidated under the name Wells, Fargo & Co., with a capital of \$10,000,000. Louis McLane has been selected President."⁸⁹ By January, 1867, western Nevada newspapers revealed the nature of the "Grand Consolidation" of the major express, mail, and stage lines west of the Missouri River into Wells, Fargo & Co. The *Daily Union* of Virginia City made a cryptic announcement: "Wells, Fargo & Co. together with the Pioneer and Overland Stage Companies have consolidated into a grand Express and Stage Company, controlled by Wells, Fargo & Co., the new arrangement taking effect from the first day of the present year."⁹⁰ The official announcement to the public was published in March, 1867:

The public, and especially all persons who have heretofore transacted business with WELLS, FARGO & CO., are notified that a consolidation of interests and business between WELLS, FARGO & CO., THE PIONEER STAGE LINE, THE HOLLADAY OVERLAND MAIL AND EXPRESS CO., THE OVERLAND MAIL COMPANY, THE UNITED STATES EXPRESS CO., AND THE AMERICAN EXPRESS CO., has taken place, and been effected under a Charter granted by the Territorial Legislature of Colorado, and that all the business heretofore done by either of these Companies west of the Missouri River, or between New York, San Francisco and China Seas, will hereafter be carried on by Wells, Fargo & Co. under the Act of Incorporation referred to.

LOUIS MCLANE,

President of Wells, Fargo & Co.

New York, December 10, 1866.⁹¹

Company records of this consolidation recorded the fact that the Pioneer Stage Company was owned by Wells, Fargo & Co., and through news reports two years after the actual purchase the public had its growing suspicion officially confirmed.⁹² The *Mountain Democrat* of Placerville had already dropped the name of Louis McLane & Co., as proprietors of the Pioneer Stage Line, in its

The Grand Consolidation of Stagelines

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC

The public, and especially all persons who have heretofore transacted business with WELLS, FARGO & CO., are notified that a consolidation of interests and business between Wells, Fargo & Co., The Pioneer Stage Co., The Holladay Overland Mail and Express Co., The Overland Mail Co., The United States Express Co., and the American Express Co., has taken place, and been effected under a Charter granted by the Territorial Legislature of Colorado, and that all the business heretofore done by either of these Companies west of the Missouri River, or between New York, San Francisco and the China Seas, will hereafter be carried on by Wells, Fargo & Co., under the Act of Incorporation referred to.

Louis McLane

President of Wells, Fargo & Co.

New York, Dec. 10, 1866.

History Room of Wells Fargo Bank.

GETTING THE MAIL THROUGH

WELLS, FARGO & Co. ON SNOW-SHOES.—We give the following particulars of the state of the snow, etc., on the Placerville route, as obtained from the log-book of Messrs. Bennett and Crandall, of Wells, Fargo & Co's Express, in this city, and who have just returned from the Sierras: Left Virginia Friday, March 1, at 6 o'clock A. M.; arrived at Van Sickle's at 1½ o'clock P. M.; left after a short halt and at 5 o'clock in the evening had made but 1¼ miles. The next day started at 6 in the morning, with seven men and eight horses, and arrived at Peters' at 1 o'clock, having made 3 miles; from there dug a track with shovels 1 mile and a half, which took till 5 in the evening, and reached Robb's; left Robb's at 6½ o'clock next morning and reached Friday's, 4 miles distant, at 9¼ P. M. Left Friday's next morning, and met messengers on snow-

shoes with letter mail from California just this side of Billy Mack's, and turned back; reached Virginia yesterday at 10 in the morning, traveling 10 miles on snow-shoes. This 10 miles of snow-shoe traveling is between Peters' and Friday's. From Billy Mack's it is all snow-shoe traveling to Yank's; thence can go in a cutter to the foot of the Summit, when there is again 9 miles of snow-shoe traveling to Strawberry. There was about ten feet of snow on the Summit. Another letter mail, to be transported across the mountains on snow-shoes, left here this morning at 6 o'clock. Billy Crandall says the Norwegian snow-shoes are the only kind fit for the mountains. There is no hope of stages getting over the route for a week or ten days. In the meantime the letter express will be carried over the snow belt by messengers on snow-shoes.

Daily Territorial Enterprise, (Virginia City),
March 5, 1867, pg 3, col 2 Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

advertising columns.⁹³ To handle its huge stageline interests Wells, Fargo & Co. organized a Stage Department, parallel to its Express and Banking Departments, and thoroughly publicized the fact by changing the format of its advertisements.⁹⁴

Wells, Fargo & Co. assumed responsibility of operating stagecoaches across the Sierra under its own name at the most difficult season of the year and that winter of 1866-1867 turned out to be one long to be remembered. On January 18, 1867, railroad cars were able to move no farther through the snow than Alta where passengers, express, and mail had to be placed in sleighs and carried to Cisco and on to Crystal Peak before stages could be used.⁹⁵ A tremendous storm the following week disrupted railroad service further. The stagecoaches from the railroad managed to get through to Virginia City, but the stage driver on the Placerville route arrived on horseback bringing the mail with him. The coach was stuck in the mud below Gold Hill so deep that twenty additional horses could not budge it.⁹⁶ By the first week in February, winter staging for a time ran smoothly. The most difficult section of the road for the Donner Lake stages was the Geiger Grade into Virginia City but that was being improved.⁹⁷ The most severe storm of winter hit the Sierra the third week in February, bringing staging again to a standstill. The *Daily Trespass* of Virginia City reported on February 25 that stages on the Placerville route at last had been heard from — two were at Yank's Station, two at Strawberry Valley and one stranded on the road between Strawberry and Placerville. Billy Crandall, who had just been promoted to general paymaster for the Pioneer and Overland Stage routes,⁹⁸ reported that the railroad was open to Emigrant Gap but beyond that "all is unknown" and many days would undoubtedly pass before stages could restore connection with the Sacramento trains.⁹⁹ With railroad service demoralized, John J. Valentine, determined to keep the Placerville route open for communications, left for an inspection trip. The first day he reached Friday's Station, on Lake Tahoe, a distance of four miles and reported, "The snow is so deep that as fast as the roads are broken the drifting snow fills up the track and undoes the work accomplished."¹⁰⁰ The next day, with the assistance of snowshoes, Valentine and his party reached Sugar Loaf Station, fifteen miles west of Strawberry Valley. The editor of the *Daily Trespass* issued a warning,

"Don't look for stages by either the Dutch Flat or the Placerville routes in less than six days — if it keeps on storming, postpone their arrival indefinitely."¹⁰¹

On March 1, 1867, Wells, Fargo & Co. received intelligence from its agent at Cisco that all the back express and mails had at last arrived there by train and every effort would be made to break the road across the mountains. Meanwhile messengers were bringing the letter express through on snowshoes from Donner Lake to Crystal Peak where horses were available. One horse floundered about in the huge snowdrifts on the Geiger Grade until the driver dismounted to break the track, only to find that the horse had plunged to his death down the hillside, taking the express with him on his back.¹⁰² At this same time on the Placerville route three employees of Wells, Fargo & Co., including Billy Crandall, left Virginia City for Friday's Station, determined to get the letter express through to California, using snowshoes.¹⁰³ Telegraphic dispatches from Genoa revealed the expressmen had made it to within a mile of Peter's Station the first day and would need another full day to get to Friday's. The snow was so light in texture they could not travel on snowshoes and they had encountered several snow slides near the summit. The message closed, "Have faith, we will make it."¹⁰⁴ After reaching Friday's Station, the men traveled on until they met messengers on snowshoes with the letter mail from California just east of Billy Mack's, exchanged letter packets, and turned back to retrace their route. Crandall reported that there was no hope of stages getting over the route for a week or ten days, but in the meantime letters would be carried by messengers on Norwegian snowshoes.¹⁰⁵ The Dutch Flat-Donner Lake route was opened for stages on March 6, but the first coaches coming through got mired in mud and snow on Geiger Grade and both passengers and express came the last few miles on horseback.¹⁰⁶ Soon trains were again running on schedule to Cisco and stages were operating into Virginia City.¹⁰⁷ Meanwhile, it was reported, "The Placerville route to California is not yet passable, except for a good snowshoeist."¹⁰⁸ A few days later, Hank Abbott brought a stage through on this route with fifty-seven sacks of mail weighing over a ton. At least four tons of mail were piled up in the Carson City Post Office awaiting delivery to California, so a brisk business was begun as soon as stages could move on schedule

Travelers continued to report that the depth of the snow in the Sierra was greater in 1866-1867 than it had been in many years, reaching a height of twenty-two feet between Donner Lake and Cisco.¹⁰⁹

In January-February, 1867, at the height of the winter storms, Wells, Fargo & Co. again announced a "Cheap Freight and Passenger Fare" on its Fast Freight Line and launched an extensive program of advertising.¹¹⁰ *The Territorial Enterprise* of February 13 summarized developments: "Two weeks since, when the roads were worse than for some years, Wells, Fargo & Co. reduced their express freights from fifteen to ten cents a pound from San Francisco to this city, and passenger fares from here to Sacramento to twenty dollars, which rates continue. They have now reduced prices by fast freight to eight cents per pound from San Francisco and seven cents from Sacramento. Passengers will be carried by fast freight to California or Austin at very low rates, as may be ascertained by calling at Wells, Fargo & Co.'s in this city."¹¹¹ While the passenger stages on both the Placerville and Donner Lake routes were blocked by winter snow, Wells, Fargo & Co.'s fast freight and passenger line managed to get through.¹¹²

On March 15, 1867, the *Daily Tresspass* of Virginia City made a surprise announcement, "Change of Name — The old coaches of the Pioneer Stage Company are being re-lettered under the name and style of Wells, Fargo & Co., being practically the same firm under an enlarged capital and title."¹¹³ At last, two and one-half months after Wells, Fargo & Co.'s ownership of the Pioneer Stage Company had become public information, that company had decided to place its own name on the side of the stagecoaches it had owned since December, 1864. The re-decorated stages, bearing the Wells, Fargo & Co. name, were primarily used on the Donner Lake Road between Virginia City and the various railroad termini from Cisco eastward, but some of them also ran on the Placerville road. In fact, Wells Fargo as usual operated its stages on either route or on both routes simultaneously, according to weather and road conditions. When a new fall of snow in the Sierra closed the Donner Lake road for several days in April, pressure on travel was so great that stages on the Placerville route omitted their usual overnight stop and traveled straight through between Sacramento and Carson City.¹¹⁴

Wells, Fargo & Co.'s

"Great Overland Stage Line"

NAME CHANGED ON PIONEER STAGECOACHES

CHANGE OF NAME.—The old coaches of the Pioneer Stage Company are being re-lettered under the name and style of Wells, Fargo & Co., being practically the same firm under an enlarged capital and title.

The Daily Tresspass, (Virginia City),
March 15, 1867, pg. 3, col. 2.
Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

STAGE SCHEDULE OUT OF VIRGINIA CITY—1867

Daily Tresspass.

Virginia, Nevada, Thursday, April 4, 1867.

Stages.---Mails.

Departures of Stages from Virginia.
Wells, Fargo & Co.'s stages for Sacramento, connecting with the Central Pacific Railroad, leave at 7 a. m. Office at W., F. & Co.'s, South C.
W., F. & Co.'s stages via Placerville, leave the office daily, at 9 a. m.
W., F. & Co.'s Overland Mail stages leave the office at 7 a. m.
Wilson's stage, for Carson, leaves at half-past 2 p. m. Office at International Hotel.
Bayton stage leaves at 3 p. m. Office at International Hotel.
Washoe and Ophir stage leaves at 11 a. m. Office at International Hotel.
W., F. & Co.'s Fast Freight Line, via Dutch Flat, leaves at 7 a. m.
Miller & Ripley's Fast Freight Line, for Austin and Belmont, leaves every Saturday, at 10 a. m. Office at Light & Haviland's Stable, South C.

The Daily Tresspass, (Virginia City),
April 4, 1867, pg. 3, col. 1.
Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

DONNER LAKE AND PLACERVILLE ROUTES—1868

STAGE DEPARTMENT

— OF —

WELLS, FARGO & CO.'S



GREAT

EXPRESS AND U. S. MAIL LINE

— BETWEEN —

SAN FRANCISCO,

OMAHA and

LEAVENWORTH.

STAGES LEAVE VIRGINIA OFFICE DAILY FOR
SACRAMENTO,

Via Donner Lake and Placerville Routes

— ALSO FOR —

Austin, Salt Lake, Virginia and Helena,
Montana; Denver, Colorado,
and Omaha and Leavenworth, Kansas.

Through to San Francisco in.....	24 Hours
Through to Austin in.....	36 Hours
Through to Salt Lake in.....	5 Days
Through to Virginia, Montana, in.....	9 Days
Through to Denver City in.....	10 Days
Through to Omaha and Leavenworth in.....	15 Days

Passengers booked through to any of the above
named points. **WM. E. HALE,**
myself AGENT.

Daily Territorial Enterprise, (Virginia City),
May 1, 1868, pg 2, col 6
Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

By mid-month both stage lines were operating, but the Donner Lake road was still reported rough and the Geiger Grade almost impassable when it rained.¹¹⁵ Throughout May travel on the Placerville route appeared more satisfactory than by Dutch Flat.¹¹⁶

In June, 1867, Wells, Fargo & Co. began transferring its "fast freight" stock and equipment from the Placerville route, where it had been used during the winter, to the Dutch Flat route.¹¹⁷ Service to the railhead was run daily throughout the summer months. Apparently the volume and profits in the business were sufficiently large to invite competition on the road to Cisco and between Virginia City and Shingle Springs from two other companies.¹¹⁸ Wells, Fargo & Co. attempted to meet all competition by further reducing its rates and advertised, "Fare by Fast Freight, To Cisco . . . \$4."¹¹⁹

Passenger demands were so great during the summer of 1867 that Wells, Fargo & Co. had to place additional stagecoaches on the route between Virginia City and Cisco.¹²⁰ By August it was reported, "The stages by the Donner Lake route are now arriving nightly completely loaded down with passengers."¹²¹ Three coaches were running together to handle the passengers. Wells, Fargo & Co. headquarters in Virginia City had to be enlarged to accommodate all the employees and patrons of the Stage Department and the office remained open on Sunday afternoons for the convenience of those wishing to secure seats in the stages to California.¹²²

The winter of 1867-1868 was another difficult one. By early October the weather turned severe and stagecoach operations became more uncertain until affairs reached a climax on December 10 when all the Wells, Fargo & Co.'s eastbound coaches were forced to return to Cisco because three bridges between there and the Truckee River had been swept away.¹²³ Travel on the route resumed soon with the stages going as far as Camp 24, four miles west of Crystal Peak, a new rail terminus,¹²⁴ but service remained unreliable with stages failing to arrive for as much as four days at a time. Wells, Fargo & Co. again established a snowshoe letter express with a messenger at each end to bridge the gap impassable for stages. Passengers were detained on the road, unable to go either way in the last week of December, although once again the Fast Freight teams of Wells, Fargo & Co. conducted by Crandall got through when the passenger stages could not and brought in a large quantity of mail and express matter.¹²⁵

William Bennett, who had gained experience as a snowshoe expressman with Crandall the previous season encountered even greater difficulties according to newspaper releases:

Severe Trip. — Yesterday, Mr. Bennett, attached to the stage service of Wells, Fargo & Co. went over the Geiger grade to carry the letter express. In returning, and when this side of Madden's station, his team became floundered in the immense snow drifts, and at last he got so far that to retrace his steps was impossible, and to advance was equally so. Here for an hour in the blinding snow, he endeavored to make headway, but the horses absolutely laid down in the traces, and in a few moments *froze to death*. Bennett, finding it impossible to continue with his jumper, secured whatever of value he had, and unhitching his live horse, mounted, and after a terrible ride through snow which enveloped both horse and rider, succeeded in getting to this city, nearly dead with cold and almost exhausted.¹²⁶

During the disruption of stagecoach service along the Donner Lake route, stages via Placerville arrived on time bringing both mails and passengers. Carson City residents complained bitterly that this more reliable route was being neglected to the detriment of their community, in a desperate effort to sustain the railroad.¹²⁷ March brought the severest storm of the season. A snowslide at Emigrant Gap swept away a portion of the railroad track. The *Trespass* revealed that a train of the Central Pacific was stuck in a tunnel in the high Sierra: "The cars on the Central Pacific got into a queer fix yesterday. The train started through the great tunnel, but found that the snow had so drifted at the mouth thereof that the snowplow could not be forced through. Several unsuccessful attempts were made to force a passage; then a retrograde movement was tried, but without success, and so there the train stuck, unable to move either way."¹²⁸ Even so, Wells, Fargo & Co. succeeded in getting the mail through by a snowshoe express.¹²⁹ As soon as the railroad cleared the tracks, the company placed four stagecoaches on the road to the railhead loaded with passengers, mail, and express. Stages coming into Virginia City brought passengers who had been ten days on the road.¹³⁰

For several months the Central Pacific had been laying rails between Crystal Peak and the Washoe Valley to the east. Time could thus be saved while the very difficult section at the crest could be slowly conquered, partially by means of snowsheds. On April 1, 1868, the

Donner Lake stages of Wells, Fargo & Co. were scheduled to run from Virginia City to Camp 24, where they would connect with the train. The railroad would then be used for passengers and packages west to Coburn's Station. A second short stage connection was then maintained between Coburn's Station and Cisco. By dividing the stage route into two sections, twenty-five miles of the worst portion of the road would be avoided.¹³¹ On April 18, 1868, the Central Pacific Railroad announced a decision to locate its closest depot to Virginia City at Lake's Crossing, or Reno, and railroad cars were expected to start arriving at that point from California by May 7.¹³² Wells, Fargo & Co.'s stagecoaches actually connected with the Central Pacific trains at Reno on May 5, but there still remained about thirty miles of staging in the Sierra where the rails were not joined.¹³³ Four days later the stages from Virginia City to Reno were filled with passengers eager to buy lots being auctioned by the railroad. A Virginia City editor commented, "Everybody who could, went to Reno [we hope people won't pronounce this Ree-no — it is enough to make the gallant general Ren-o turn over in his bloody grave at South Mountain] to-day to attend the sale of town lots. They will all get rich — doubtless."¹³⁴ On May 16, cars of the Central Pacific ran as far as Summit Valley, leaving only twelve miles of staging between railroad connections. The next week the train was expected to come through the great tunnel and by June 15 the track was scheduled to be laid to Cold Creek, where a through connection would be made with the eastern section.¹³⁵ On June 18, 1868, the *Daily Tresspass* made the following brief announcement: "Last evening we received a dispatch from Coburn's stating that the last connecting rail between California and Nevada, on the Central Pacific Railroad, had been laid. Tomorrow the cars will be run direct from Reno to Sacramento."¹³⁶

Many changes had been made in the preceding three weeks in the freight, express, and staging business of Wells, Fargo & Co. on both routes across the Sierra. First, the Pacific Union Express Co., an ally of the Central Pacific Railroad, announced its organization on May 30, 1868, to compete with Wells, Fargo & Co. for the freight and express business as an adjunct to the railroad.¹³⁷ Second, Wells, Fargo & Co. announced the establishment of an "Accommodation Line" running between Reno and Virginia City as early as June 4.¹³⁸

A rate war between the Pacific Union Express and Wells Fargo ensued for several months and passengers could travel on Wells Fargo stages for \$3 or on the Fast Freight Line for \$1.¹³⁹ Third, Wells, Fargo & Co. made a contract with H. W. Baker, operator of a line of stagecoaches for both passengers and fast freight on the Placerville road, to carry mails and express across the Sierra by that route until such time as Wells, Fargo & Co.'s mail contract expired.¹⁴⁰ With these arrangements completed, Wells, Fargo & Co. withdrew from stagecoach operations on the trans-Sierra route, a service in which it had an interest for a decade, with an ever-increasing financial investment and responsibility for running stages, as it purchased the Pioneer Stage Company and the California Stage Co.'s trans-Sierra route. The company's Stage Department, active since 1866, thenceforth was concerned with operating the remaining stretch of its main Overland Mail line between the approaching railheads of the Central Pacific and Union Pacific Railroads and with its many hundreds of miles of feeder lines in Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Idaho, and Montana.

NOTES

1. Joint Stock Agreement of March 18, 1852. Original manuscript copy in the History Room, Wells Fargo Bank, San Francisco.
2. *New York Times*, May 20, 1852, p. 4, c. 5; *New York Herald*, May 22, 1852, p. 1, c. 3.
3. F. A. Bannard, *Register of First-Class Business Houses in San Francisco*, 1852, p. 46.
4. *Alta California*, October 8, 1853, p. 4, c. 7.
5. *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 29, 1851, p. 3, c. 5; P. Sioli, *Historical Souvenir of Eldorado County*, 1883, p. 127.
6. *The Placer Weekly Herald*, March 5, 1853, p. 1, c. 1; February 25, 1854, p. 3, c. 3; August 4, 1855, p. 3, c. 4.
7. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City, Nevada), June 9, 1864, p. 2, c. 6; p. 3, c. 1.
8. *The Carson Daily Appeal*, July 4, 1865, p. 2, c. 4.
9. *Gold Hill Daily News*, August 31, 1866, p. 2, c. 5.
10. Minute Book of the Board of Directors of Wells, Fargo & Co., July 14, July 15, September 16, and December 15, 1864.
11. For example *Daily Reese River Reveille*, November 12, 1866, p. 2, c. 4.

the *New York Tribune* of November 6, 1866, as quoted in *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), November 28, 1866, p. 2, c. 3; *The Daily Union Vedette* (Salt Lake City), November 27, 1866, p. 2, c. 3.

12. W. Turrentine Jackson, "A New Look at Wells Fargo, Stagecoaches and the Pony Express," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLV (December, 1966), 307.

13. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), August 31, 1865, p. 3, c. 1.

14. *Gold Hill Daily News*, August 31, 1866, p. 2, c. 5; *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), August 31, 1866, p. 2, c. 6.

15. *Daily Trespass* (Virginia City), June 21, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.

16. *Daily Trespass*, March 1, 1867, p. 2, c. 4; April 4, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; *Gold Hill Daily News*, July 29, 1867, p. 4, c. 1; *Daily Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City) May 1, 1868, p. 2, c. 6.

17. *The Reno Crescent*, August 1, 1868, p. 2, c. 5.

18. Because of space limitations, reports of stage robberies and pursuit of highwaymen have been omitted from this article, but incidents illustrative of Wells Fargo's vicissitudes and struggles in keeping the lines running despite mud, flood and heavy snow, over difficult terrain and roads which in some stretches could only be described as "terrible," have been briefly included where they have had any bearing on the nature and reliability of the service.

19. Tracy's relations with Wells Fargo were interesting. For a time he operated a Pacific Express which competed with Wells Fargo between Sacramento and Placerville. He gave that up in 1857 when he obtained the exclusive privilege of transporting express on Crandall's trans-Sierra stages, but he also in that year, while conducting his own express, became associated with Wells, Fargo & Co. in the first of a long series of positions he was to hold with that company. Wells Fargo at the time was occupying a fireproof brick building in Placerville, constructed in 1856 when its business there had already grown to a point justifying such an edifice.

The evolving pattern of transportation through Placerville can be read in the files of the town's newspaper. *Mountain Democrat* (Placerville), August 30, 1856, p. 2, c. 7; June 20, 1857, p. 3, c. 2; July 18, 1857, p. 3, c. 1; October 24, 1857, p. 2, c. 1; March 6, 1858, p. 2, c. 2; May 15, 1858, p. 2, c. 5.

20. *Ibid.*, October 15, 1859, p. 2, c. 1; p. 2, c. 3.

21. *Ibid.*, October 15, 1859, p. 2, c. 1.

22. Minute Book of the Board of Directors of Wells, Fargo & Co. Original in History Room of Wells Fargo Bank. Personnel appointments for California can be traced in the entries of March 22, 1855; February 20, March 5, June 4, and October 23, 1856.

23. *Mountain Democrat*, September 12, 1860, p. 3, c. 1. The Virginia City

Daily Union was also quoted in *The Daily Appeal* (Marysville), September 16, 1860: "The Pioneer Stage Company are now running a daily line of stages from Sacramento to Carson Valley, going through from Sacramento to Virginia City in two days," p. 4, c. 1.

24. *Mountain Democrat*, February 16, 1861, p. 3, c. 1, announced that Wells, Fargo & Co. had a daily express service over the mountains between Placerville and the "Utah Mines."

25. A. C. Richardson to Frank S. Stevens, December 27, 1860, January 4, May 18, May 25, 1861, and letter with an illegible date. This correspondence is available in The Huntington Library, San Marino.

26. W. Turrentine Jackson, "A New Look at Wells Fargo, Stagecoaches and the Pony Express," *loc. cit.*, pp. 291-324. Minute Book of the Overland Mail Company, Entries for January 29, 1858, pp. 19-21; Feb. 16, 1858, pp. 36-37; May 13, 1858, p. 54; November 12, 1858, pp. 72-73. Original in History Room, Wells Fargo Bank.

27. Minute Book of the Overland Mail Company. Entries for August 11, 1859, p. 106; November 11, 1859, p. 116; March 17, 1860, p. 120; March 19, 1860, p. 131; March 20, 1860, pp. 131-132; April 27, 1860, pp. 136-137. For additional details see Jackson, "A New Look . . .," *loc. cit.*, pp. 298-301.

28. U. S. *Statutes at Large*, xii, 206.

29. All contracts and correspondence relative to the negotiations of March 8-16 can be read in the Minute Book of the Overland Mail Company, pp. 146-156. A committee from Wells, Fargo & Co., Messrs. D. N. Barney, B. P. Cheney and William G. Fargo, reported that they "had used every effort to prevent any injury to the interests of your Company."

30. Contract of Joint Carriage of Mail Between the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company and the Overland Mail Company. The original copy of this important document is in the William B. Waddell Papers, The Huntington Library. The Seventh Section included contractual provisions with Wells, Fargo & Co.

31. Minute Book of the Overland Mail Company, August 16, 1861, p. 166; September 26, 1861, p. 173. The contract was signed in July, examined and debated by the board in August, and unanimously approved in September.

32. Descriptions can be read in the *Mountain Democrat*, July 6, 1861, p. 2, c. 6, and July 20, 1861, p. 2, c. 3.

33. *Ibid.*, October 26, 1861, p. 3, c. 1; November 16, 1861, p. 2, c. 5; August 2, 1862, p. 2, c. 2. The following comments are typical of dozens: "Truly, Wells, Fargo & Co. are a great 'institution,' and their agents and clerks the fastest and cleverest fellows in all Expressdom. May their tribe increase." and "Theo. Tracy, agent for this city is too well known to make it necessary for us to say anything in his behalf 'Everybody knows Theo' "

34. *Ibid.*, August 2, 1862, p. 2, c. 7; *Daily Silver Age* (Carson City, Nevada), October 2, 1862, p. 3, c. 4. The latter newspaper had run an advertisement, including time-tables, throughout September and October, 1862.
35. The California and Nevada newspapers were full of tributes to the enterprise of these companies. See the *Mountain Democrat*, for example, May 23, 1863, p. 2, c. 1; May 30, 1863, p. 2, c. 7.
36. *Gold Hill Daily News*, January 16, 1864, p. 2, c. 3, quoting statistics that had appeared in San Francisco's *Alta California*. See also April 22, 1864, p. 2, c. 4. Similar articles on the route of the Pioneer Stage Co. across the Sierra, the amount of equipment, number of employees, hotels patronized, and total number of passengers carried appeared in the *Virginia City Daily Territorial Enterprise* and were reprinted, at times, in the *Daily Reese River Reveille* of Austin, Nevada. See, for example, June 19, 1864, p. 4, c. 2.
37. *Virginia City Evening Bulletin*, April 29, 1864, p. 4, c. 2. This advertisement first appeared in the newspaper on February 24, 1864. *The Daily Old Piute* (Virginia City), June 18, 1864, p. 4, c. 1, first printed on May 11, 1864. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), May 4, 1864, p. 3, c. 1.
38. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City) June 17, 1864, p. 3, c. 1; June 19, 1864, p. 3, c. 2. This newspaper revealed the exact route traveled by the Pioneer stages and the distance between stations: "... Virginia to Carson, 16 miles; Carson to Friday's 22½, Friday's to Yank's 10, Yank's to Strawberry 10, Strawberry to Sugar Loaf Station 11, Sugar Loaf Station to Bartram's 13½, Bartram's to Sportsman's Hall 6, Sportman's Hall to Placerville 12, Placerville to Latrobe 17. Total by coach 118 miles. Latrobe to Sacramento, by cars 36½, saving 18 miles of coach travel and adding about 10 miles of railroad as now run to Latrobe."
39. *Carson Daily Independent* (Carson City), June 17, 1864, p. 1, c. 7.
40. *Gold Hill Daily News*, August 22, 1864, p. 2, c. 4; August 24, 1864, p. 3, c. 2. A similar advertisement was run in *The Daily Constitution* (Virginia City), December 23, 1864, p. 1, c. 7.
41. *Gold Hill Daily News*, August 24, 1864, p. 3, c. 1.
42. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), September 14, 1864, p. 3, c. 2.
43. For a report on stage difficulties during the winter, see the *Gold Hill Daily News*, November 28, 1864, p. 2, c. 1; December 1, 1864, p. 2, c. 1; December 2, 1864, p. 3, c. 1; December 15, 1864, p. 2, c. 1; December 19, 1864, p. 3, c. 1; December 31, 1864, p. 2, c. 2. See also, *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), December 10, 1864, p. 3, c. 3.
44. Minute Book of the Board of Directors of Wells, Fargo & Co., July 14, July 15, September 16, and December 15, 1864.
45. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), June 9, 1864, p. 2, c. 6.
46. *The Daily Old Piute*, June 18, 1864, p. 4, c. 2; *Gold Hill Daily News*, June 11, 1864, p. 2, c. 5.

47. *Gold Hill Daily News*, June 30, 1865, p. 2, c. 5.
48. For example, see the *Gold Hill Daily News*, January 19, 1865, p. 2, c. 1; February 7, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; March 28, 1865, p. 3, c. 1.
49. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), January 15, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; January 20, 1865, p. 2, c. 5; March 28, 1865, p. 3, c. 3.
50. *Gold Hill Daily News*, April 7, 1865, p. 2, c. 1. Continuing comments on the effective service of the Pioneer Stage Company can be read in the issues of April 8, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; April 28, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; May 15, 1865, p. 3, c. 1.
51. *Carson Daily Appeal*, May 18, 1865, p. 3, c. 1.
52. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), August 26, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; *Gold Hill Daily News*, August 28, 1865, p. 2, c. 1; *The Carson Daily Appeal*, August 27, 1865, p. 3, c. 1.
53. The *Placerville Mirror* quoted in the *Daily Reese River Reveille*, August 24, 1865, p. 1, c. 5.
54. *The Stars and Stripes* (Auburn), August 23, 1865, p. 2, c. 5. For additional comment see *Daily Reese River Reveille*, August 24, 1865, p. 1, c. 5, quoting *The Placer Herald*.
55. Articles from which these statements have been taken can be seen in *Gold Hill Daily News*, May 31, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; June 5, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; June 15, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; and *Mountain Democrat*, June 24, 1865, p. 2, c. 3.
56. *Gold Hill Daily News*, August 30, 1865, p. 3, c. 1.
57. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), August 31, 1865, p. 3, c. 1. This news article was reprinted in the *Carson Daily Appeal*, September 1, 1865, p. 1, c. 1.
58. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), September 1, 1865, p. 2, c. 4; *Gold Hill Daily News*, September 1, 1865, p. 2, c. 6.
59. *Gold Hill Daily News*, September 1, 1865, p. 3, c. 1. This news article was reprinted in the *Carson Daily Appeal*, September 2, 1865, p. 2, c. 3. The editor continued to express his preference. See issue of September 22, 1865, p. 3, c. 1.
60. *Daily Reese River Reveille*, September 2, 1865, p. 2, c. 2. Additional comment on the changing stage service will be found in *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), September 1, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; September 2, 1865, p. 3, c. 1. For the timing of railroad construction and its relationship to staging, see *The Stars and Stripes*, August 23, 1865, p. 2, c. 5, and *Grass Valley Union*, August 31, 1865, and September 3, 1865, p. 3, c. 1.
61. *Grass Valley Union*, August 29, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; *The Nevada Daily Gazette* (Nevada City), August 30, 1865, p. 2, c. 2; *The Daily Appeal* (Marysville), August 30, 1865, p. 3, c. 2.
62. *Nevada Daily Gazette*, September 14, 1865, p. 4, c. 1. This news item was reprinted in the Marysville *Daily Appeal* without comment, September 15, 1865, p. 3, c. 1. It also appeared in the *Carson Daily Appeal*, September 20, 1865, p. 4.

c. 1. The sale was not consummated, however. According to the *Nevada Daily Gazette*, October 13, 1865, p. 3, c. 1, "... the California Stage Company have sold to William Hamilton the route from Colfax to North San Juan. This is without doubt the best and most profitable stage route in the State — carrying all the passengers to and from Grass Valley, Nevada and the upper portions of the county, also much of the travel from the Sierra."

63. *Nevada Daily Gazette*, October 2, 1865, p. 3, c. 1.

64. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), December 21, 1865, p. 3, c. 2; December 28, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; December 29, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; January 19, 1866, p. 3, c. 1.

65. *Gold Hill Daily News*, October 21, 1865, p. 3, c. 1.

66. *Carson Daily Appeal*, October 14, 1865, p. 3, c. 1.

67. *Ibid.*, November 25, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; *Gold Hill Daily News*, November 25, 1865, p. 2, c. 5; *Daily Reese River Reveille*, November 30, 1865, p. 3, c. 5.

68. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), January 13, 1866, p. 3, c. 2.

69. *Carson Daily Appeal*, April 6, 1866, p. 3, c. 1; April 10, 1866, p. 3, c. 1.

70. *Ibid.*, April 20, 1866, p. 3, c. 1. Valentine and Crandall were very popular in western Nevada and the subject of many complimentary remarks by local editors: See, for example, *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), April 20, 1866, p. 3, c. 1; May 2, 1866, p. 3, c. 1; May 12, 1866, p. 3, c. 2.

71. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), December 7, 1866, p. 3, c. 1. This newspaper editor said, "It is a notorious fact that whenever the firm of Wells, Fargo & Co. desire to possess anything desirable they manage to succeed, and they number among their employees the very best businessmen on the coast." The *Mountain Democrat* of Placerville reprinted this account and made additional complimentary remarks about Tracy, December 15, 1866, p. 2, c. 1. The article appeared with editorial comment in *The Placerville Courier*, December 15, 1866, p. 3, c. 1.

72. *The Stars and Stripes*, July 18, 1866, p. 4, c. 2. Advertisement.

73. *Ibid.*, June 27, 1866, p. 3, c. 1.

74. *Ibid.*, December 5, 1866, p. 2, c. 5.

75. *The Placerville Courier*, July 28, 1866, p. 3, c. 1.

76. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), December 3, 1866, p. 3, c. 1; December 20, 1866, p. 3, c. 1; *Carson Daily Appeal*, December 28, 1866, p. 3, c. 1; December 29, 1866, p. 3, c. 1; *Gold Hill Daily News*, December 22, 1866.

77. *Daily Reese River Reveille*, January 2, 1866, p. 4, c. 1.

78. *The Placerville Courier*, March 9, 1867, p. 2, c. 3.

79. *Gold Hill Daily News*, March 10, 1865, p. 2, c. 1.

80. *Ibid.*, June 30, 1865, p. 2, c. 5; *Carson Daily Appeal*, July 4, 1865, p. 2, c. 4.

81. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), July 1, 1865, p. 2, c. 6, and p. 3, c. 2.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 3, c. 2.
83. *Gold Hill Daily News*, January 2, 1866, p. 1, c. 2.
84. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), August 30, 1866, p. 3, c. 2; August 31, 1866, p. 3, c. 1. See advertisement in this last issue, p. 2, c. 6. The same advertisement appeared in the *Gold Hill Daily News*, August 31, 1866, p. 2, c. 5.
85. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), September 12, 1866, p. 3, c. 1.
86. *Ibid.*, October 16, 1866, p. 3, c. 1; December 10, 1866, p. 3, c. 3. This newspaper revealed that a man clad only in a light linen coat had boarded Wells, Fargo & Co.'s "fast freight stage" without paying and upon arrival at the Crystal Lake station suddenly expired, the doctors reporting he had frozen to death.
87. *Daily Reese River Reveille*, January 9, 1866, p. 3, c. 4; May 31, 1866, p. 2, c. 1; June 11, 1866, p. 4, c. 2; June 29, 1866, p. 2, c. 2.
88. *Ibid.*, August 20, 1866, p. 2, c. 2.
89. Quoted in *Daily Reese River Reveille*, November 12, 1866, p. 2, c. 4. The news had traveled fast from New York to San Francisco and back to Austin, Nevada, or the *Alta California* had prior knowledge of the grand consolidation. The agreement had been signed on November 1, 1866.
90. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), January 10, 1867, p. 3, c. 1. An identical statement appeared on the same date in the *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, p. 3, c. 1.
91. *Gold Hill Daily News*, March 1, 1867, p. 4, c. 6. This official statement appeared in many other newspapers at the same time.
92. Minutes of the Holladay Overland Mail and Express Company, p. 43. Original in History Room, Wells Fargo Bank, San Francisco.
93. *Mountain Democrat*, January 26, 1867, p. 3, c. 3.
94. *Gold Hill Daily News*, January 2, 1867, p. 2, c. 4; *Daily Reese River Reveille*, February 11, 1867, p. 2, c. 4; *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, March 2, 1867, p. 3, c. 7.
95. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), January 18, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.
96. *Ibid.*, January 26, 1867, p. 3, c. 2; *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, January 25, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; January 27, 1867, p. 2, c. 1-2.
97. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), February 4, 1867, p. 3, c. 2; *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, February 5, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; *Daily Tresspass*, February 23, 1867, p. 3, c. 3.
98. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), January 28, 1867, p. 3, c. 2.
99. *Daily Tresspass*, February 25, 1867, p. 3, c. 2; February 27, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.
100. *Ibid.*, February 27, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.
101. *Ibid.*, February 28, 1867, p. 2, c. 2, p. 3, c. 3

102. *Ibid.*, March 1, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.
103. According to the *Daily Trespass*, March 1, 1867, p. 3, c. 2, they expected to use a light sleigh to Friday's Station. The *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, March 2, 1867, p. 3, c. 1, suggested a stage and pack animals would be used until snowshoes became necessary.
104. *Daily Trespass*, March 2, 1867, p. 2, c. 1. This newspaper printed the telegraphic dispatch in full.
105. *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, March 5, 1867, p. 3, c. 2. A full account of the trip of the expressmen on snowshoes is found here.
106. *Daily Trespass*, March 6, 1867, p. 3, c. 2.
107. *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, March 7, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.
108. *Daily Trespass*, March 8, 1867, p. 3, c. 3.
109. *Ibid.*, March 9, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; *Carson Daily Appeal*, March 9, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; March 12, 1867, p. 2, c. 3.
110. *Gold Hill Daily News*, January 28, 1867, p. 1, c. 1; February 12, 1867, p. 2, c. 5; *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, February 13, 1867, p. 3, c. 2; *Daily Reese River Reveille*, February 15, 1867, p. 4, c. 1.
111. *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, February 13, 1867, p. 3, c. 2.
112. *Daily Trespass*, February 28, 1867, p. 3, c. 2.
113. *Ibid.*, March 15, 1867, p. 3, c. 2.
114. *Carson Daily Appeal*, April 12, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; April 14, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.
115. *Daily Trespass*, April 12, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; April 17, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; April 19, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; April 29, 1867, p. 3, c. 2; *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, April 16, 1867, p. 3, c. 2.
116. *Daily Trespass*, May 7, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.
117. *Ibid.*, June 21, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.
118. *Ibid.*, July 6, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; *Gold Hill Daily News*, July 1, 1867, p. 3, c. 4; July 23, 1867, p. 3, c. 5.
119. *Daily Trespass*, July 24, 1867, p. 2, c. 3. A similar advertisement quoting all rates appeared in the *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, July 25, 1867, p. 2, c. 5, and *Gold Hill Daily News*, July 29, 1867, p. 4, c. 1.
120. *Daily Trespass*, June 22, 1867, p. 3, c. 3; July 6, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.
121. *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, August 2, 1867, p. 3, c. 2.
122. *Daily Trespass*, August 1, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; August 21, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; August 22, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.
123. *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, December 10, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.
124. *Daily Trespass*, December 13, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.

125. *Ibid.*, December 23, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; December 27, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; December 30, 1867, p. 3, c. 2.
126. *Ibid.*, January 3, 1868, p. 3, c. 1.
127. *Carson Daily Appeal*, November 20, 1867, p. 2, c. 2.
128. *Daily Trespass*, March 4, 1868, p. 3, c. 2; March 5, 1868, p. 3, c. 1.
129. *Ibid.*, March 6, 1868, p. 3, c. 1; March 7, 1868, p. 3, c. 1.
130. *Ibid.*, March 9, 1868, p. 3, c. 2; March 10, 1868, p. 3, c. 2; *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, March 12, 1868, p. 3, c. 1.
131. *Daily Trespass*, March 27, 1868, p. 3, c. 1; March 31, 1868, p. 3, c. 1.
132. *Ibid.*, April 18, 1868, p. 3, c. 1.
133. *Ibid.*, April 30, 1868, p. 3, c. 3; May 5, 1868, p. 3, c. 1.
134. *Ibid.*, May 9, 1868, p. 3, c. 2.
135. *Ibid.*, May 16, 1868, p. 3, c. 1.
136. *Ibid.*, June 18, 1868, p. 3, c. 1.
137. *Ibid.*, May 30, 1868, p. 2, c. 3.
138. *Ibid.*, June 4, 1868, p. 3, c. 1; *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, June 5, 1868, p. 3, c. 2. For an advertisement of this service, see *Enterprise*, p. 2, c. 5.
139. *Daily Trespass*, July 16, 1868, p. 3, c. 1.
140. *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, June 10, 1868, p. 3, c. 2.

California's Constitution of 1879:

An Unpaid Debt

By KENNETH M. JOHNSON

THE CREDIT POSITION of California is well demonstrated by the fact that as of January 1, 1965, state bonds were outstanding in the amount of approximately 3.17 billion dollars — all of which had been marketed at attractive rates from the point of view of the state. Also authorized but not issued were bonds totaling 2.75 billion dollars for which syndicates of sophisticated investors would eagerly bid. California has a reputation of paying its debts when due; however, there is one which has not been paid.

During the period of the discontented seventies one of the whipping boys was the Constitution of 1849; it was alleged that it permitted political control by the railroads, was drawn by those not schooled in the arts of government, and while possibly adequate for an agrarian state, was not adapted to the present day economics or politics. As a result of this there was agitation for a new and modern constitution. The legislature paid heed to this popular demand and in 1878 passed an act providing for a convention to form a new constitution.¹ Delegates were to be elected in a special election on June 19, 1878, and then, as more recently, there were many arguments as to apportionment; however, this knotty problem was finally resolved. It is interesting to note that the city and county of San Francisco had thirty delegates and the county of Los Angeles three. On the ballot six parties were represented, but only four succeeded in electing delegates: Republican, Democratic, Workingmen, and Peoples Non-Partisan. One hundred and fifty-two were elected and as to party affiliation were as follows:

Non-Partisan	80
Democrats	9
Republicans	11
Workingmen	52

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As to occupations lawyers and farmers predominated; there were fifty-nine of the former and thirty-six of the latter. On the whole there were thirty-five other occupations represented, such as music teacher, bookseller, printer, cook, gas-fitter, doctor of medicine, and many others. It was a well mixed group.

The act authorizing the convention appropriated the sum of \$150,000 for expenses, but provided that the delegates could not have a per diem compensation after one hundred days of the convention had elapsed. The convention first met on September 28, 1878, but due to the political elements present representing many diverse points of view, it soon became apparent that it would be impossible to have an acceptable draft of a new constitution within the one-hundred-day period. Insofar as expenses were concerned there was also trouble; in fact the \$150,000 was almost exhausted on the eighty-fifth day.²

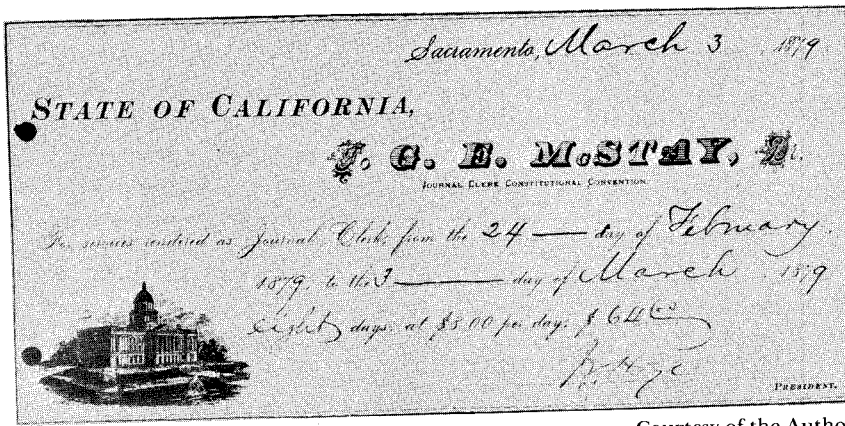
As the hundredth day approached the members discussed the question of whether they should continue in an attempt to form a new constitution, or whether the convention should be dissolved. Funds were, of course, lacking, but the members by a very large majority decided to continue after some very acrimonious debate in which those desiring to stop were termed traitors.³ The convention finally succeeded in forming a constitution which was adopted by the people in a special election held in May, 1879, and is with amendments the constitution we have today. Final adjournment was on March 3, 1879, the 157th day of the meeting.

Due to the fact that the appropriation had been exhausted long before the end of the convention, the delegates determined to issue scrip for the per diem to the members and also to those who rendered services, such as clerks, secretaries, janitors, etc. A great variety of expenses were thus covered, and some of the discussions in retrospect are to an extent amusing. One of the regular porters had paid forty-five dollars to another for assistance; the question was whether the regular porter was to get scrip in payment:

The President: The question is on the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. Edgerton: I think the gentleman is entitled to this sum. I hope the Chairman will make an explanation, so that the Convention will understand it.

Mr. Walker: It seems that one Porter retired and another stepped into his place. Two warrants have been issued to Glat and Jones. Therefore, the committee



Courtesy of the Author

Facsimile of a warrant issued to G. E. McStay by the Constitutional Convention of 1879.

could not see how the third Porter can possibly demand pay from the Convention.

Mr. Edgerton: I understand that these two Porters could not do all the work, for the reason that the gas was shut off at night, so that they had to wait till morning, and this money was paid out for assistance.

Mr. Walker: It is a fact that he has paid the money out.

Mr. Edgerton: He did it for the convenience and health of this body. They had one hundred and fifty-six spittoons to clean out every day, and a large amount of other work to do.⁴

Individual warrants were issued to the various creditors as evidence of goods supplied or services rendered, and were signed by J. P. Hoge, who acted as president of the convention. It has been estimated that the approximate amount of such scrip was \$75,000. In order to make sure that the scrip would be paid the convention placed in the new constitution Article XX, Section 19, which read as follows:

Payment of expenses of convention. Nothing in this Constitution shall prevent the legislature from providing, by law, for the payment of the expenses of the convention framing this Constitution, including the per diem of the delegates for the full term thereof.

This section remained in the constitution until November 8, 1949, when by amendment it was deleted as obsolete; however, the scrip was never paid.

Why the scrip was never paid or redeemed by the state probably rests in the rather peculiar political situation which developed subsequent to the adoption of the constitution. Rather quickly there arose a feeling that the new constitution was worse than the old,

and it was the subject of some very vigorous attacks. The Chinese had not disappeared, the railroads were still in control of politics, unemployment was high, and the price of wheat had not gone up. As one writer puts it — "One section of the press, under railroad and corporation influence, as bitterly denounced the convention and all its works as Kearney had denounced the San Francisco capitalists."⁵

Regardless of the general hostility to which the constitution was subject, the question of payment was placed before the legislature during its next session, the twenty-third, in 1880. Assembly Bill 150 provided for payment, and the bill was referred to the Committee on Claims; the report of that committee follows:

Mr. Speaker: Your Committee on Claims beg leave to report that they have had under consideration Assembly Bill No. 150 — An Act to appropriate moneys to pay the deficiencies in the expenses of the late Constitutional Convention and report the same back as follows:

Your committee is unanimous in the opinion that the members, officers, and attaches of said Convention are entitled to full payment for the unpaid residue of the one hundred days authorized by the Act convening the Constitutional Convention — and, therefore, they hereby submit a bill appropriating the sum of twenty thousand and seventy-nine dollars and ninety-one cents, for that purpose, and recommend its passage. Your committee is also of the opinion that the officers and attaches of the late Constitutional Convention are entitled to compensation for the services rendered by them during the fifty-seven days that said Convention was in session, over and above the one hundred days allowed by the Act convening said Convention, and, therefore they do herewith submit a bill appropriating the sum of seven thousand and fourteen dollars and forty-seven cents, for that purpose, and do recommend its passage.

As to the payment of the per diem of the members of the late Constitutional Convention, for the fifty seven days that the said Convention was in session, over and above the one hundred days authorized by the Act convening it, your committee is unable to agree, and they therefore respectfully report the subject back to the Assembly without recommendation.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

Merry, Chairman.⁶

The majority of the members of the legislature shared the popular antipathy to the Constitution of 1879, and as a result no action as to payment was taken. The general attitude of at least the assembly is well shown by the following words by the speaker at the closing session:

At eleven o'clock this Assembly will adjourn *sine die*. The work of its members — our work is done. If it be good, our constituents will say, "Well done". If not good their disapproval will follow us throughout our political career. If we have failed it is consoling to know that the Constitution is not altogether blameless . . .

It was said that this body was opposed to the Constitution, and that a majority was elected to mystify its provisions. Let the work of the majority be its judge.⁷

The unpopularity of the new constitution continued for several years. The front cover of the *San Francisco Wasp*, for February 19, 1881, was devoted to a powerful cartoon in which California was depicted as a poor but honest miner; coiled around the miner and crushing out his life was a huge boa-constrictor labeled "The New Constitution". In fact the Constitution of 1879 was and is a very odd document; it contains a mass of material which is legislative in nature, and not properly a part of an organic act. It has been the object of technical criticism over the years, but as noted at the start of this article the state has prospered under it.

One of the unspoken reasons for the attitude of the legislature was that to a very large degree the constitutional convention scrip had passed into the hands of private speculators. A San Francisco capitalist, James de Fremery, acquired a small amount. De Fremery invested money for himself and others, and is today best remembered as the author of the first book on mortgages published in California.⁸ By far the most interesting purchaser of the scrip, and the holder of the greatest amount was John Kelly. His story is well told in the *Sacramento Union* of December 2, 1916.

John Kelly, formerly a gardener for the late Governor Leland Stanford, and one of the most unique characters of the early days in California, passed away at noon here yesterday at the age of 90 years. Kelly who had been an incompetent for the past four years, left his entire estate to charity, it is stated, but more than 100 members of the family from Ireland, will contest the will. Kelly's estate is said to be worth about \$250,000.

Kelly arrived in the United States from Ireland when about 21 years old, and came to California with the gold rush. After amassing a considerable fortune in mining, he became the gardener for Governor Stanford, serving in that capacity for so many years that he became almost one of the family. For the past four years, Kelly had been unable to handle his estate and Dwight Miller of this city was appointed his guardian.

The aged man was particularly active during the constitutional convention of 1879. That body was limited by law to a life of 100 days, and when it was unable to

finish its labors within the appointed time, it issued scrip with the understanding that the next legislature would reimburse the holders of the scrip for its face value. Kelly purchased the scrip from employees and members of the convention, securing approximately \$60,000 at the rate of 65 cents on the dollar. Unfortunately for Kelly, the next legislature was hostile to the constitution, and because Kelly, by his purchase of the scrip had made possible the completion of the convention's labors, it refused to pay up on the scrip.

Each two years thereafter, for many sessions, Kelly regularly appeared before the legislature, but his pleas were without avail.

When the San Francisco ferry building was promoted Kelly was the largest individual subscriber to the bonds in this state.

The will turning over the estate to charity probably will be filed next week, and with that action will come the contests of the relatives of the aged man, or those claiming to be relatives, to secure the property. Kelly was a bachelor, without any near blood kin living in America.

In addition to the hostility to the constitution, the legislature was possibly consciously or unconsciously motivated by the fact that Kelly was something of a loan shark. He operated in the capitol and made a specialty of salary loans to members of the legislature, state officials and governmental employees. Kelly was willing in certain cases to advance an entire year's salary, and one can well imagine the discount involved. While such an operation may be helpful in many situations, it was not one which would lead to personal popularity.

When the will was filed the forecast proved to be true: the entire estate was left in perpetual trust with the income to be divided equally between Roman Catholic and Protestant orphanages in San Francisco. The expected attacks on the will also came, but the end result was that the will was sustained. The Inventory and Appraisment, filed in the probate proceedings, shows a total estate of \$174,942.27; in this figure there was included constitution convention scrip in the face amount of \$58,908.28, but valued at \$500. Even this latter figure was too high; the trustees of the Kelly estate subsequently sought payment, but without success. The scrip still remains unpaid.

NOTES

1. Statutes of 1877-1878, p. 759.
2. *Debates and Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of California, convened at the City of Sacramento, Saturday September 28, 1879*, (Sacramento 1880-1881), II, 806.

3. *Ibid*, II, 880, 902.
4. *Ibid*, III, 1494.
5. Robert Glass Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period* (New York, 1926), p. 422.
6. *Journal of the Assembly, 23rd Session* (Sacramento, 1880), p. 355.
7. *Ibid*, p. 895.
8. James de Fremery, *Mortgages in California — A Practical Essay* (San Francisco, 1860).

The Missionization of the Coast Miwok Indians of California

By CHARLES C. COLLEY

THERE HAVE BEEN many detailed anthropological and ethnographic studies done on the California Indian tribes which came under mission control, but mission histories usually group all Indians in a very general manner. This paper proposes to examine the Coast Division of the California Miwok Indians and their reactions to Spanish civilization from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, by the use of both historical and anthropological materials. It is hoped that this will provide more information on the intercultural responses of both groups.

The Coast Miwok, with an aboriginal population estimated by S. F. Cook at three thousand, occupied a region of approximately 880 square miles north of San Francisco Bay, covering nearly all of present day Marín, the southern part of Sonoma, and a small part of Napa County.¹ Within this area the people spoke two slightly different dialects, the Western, or Bodega, in the area near Bodega Bay, and the Southern or, Marín, in the remainder of the territory.²

The first Coast Miwok encounter with the Spanish was made in 1595 when Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño, sailing from the Philippines with about seventy men, anchored his ship the *San Agustín* in Drake's Bay on November 6, 1595. Many Indians came to the shore to watch the Spaniards, and one rowed to the ship on a tule *balsa* (raft) propelled with a two-bladed paddle. He talked to the crew in his native language and was given cotton cloth, silk, and a red cap, which he took back to the shore. Spanish generosity was no doubt promoted by a need for food supplies which they hoped to acquire from the Indians. The next day four more native men paddled to the ship and were also given gifts of cloth which they took back to the beach.³ As soon as these natives left, Cermeño went ashore in the ship's boat with twenty-two armed men. The party landed near some dugout houses inhabited by the

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natives. The Indians were described as "well-built, robust, and inclined to fatness. The men were entirely naked, but the women wore grass or skin skirts. Their hair was worn long and their breasts and arms were painted."⁴

Cermeño formally claimed the land and port in the name of the King of Spain, calling it "La Bahía de San Francisco," and it was so christened by a Franciscan friar who was present.⁵ Then, accompanied by his men he proceeded to look over an Indian village a short distance from the beach where about fifty adults watched the strangers in apparent fear.

For about a week Cermeño's crew occupied themselves building a fortified camp on the shore and putting together a small launch (*viroco*) transported to California aboard the *San Agustín*. They were surrounded and observed at all times by the curious Miwok inhabitants of the area.

Late in November a tragedy befell the Spanish when the *San Agustín* was run aground by a strong on-shore gale.⁶ A number of men, the bulk of cargo and what food supplies they possessed were lost leaving the survivors stranded on shore. The only hope for escape was the Philippine launch, but first more food had to be secured before a journey to Mexico could be attempted. Cermeño, eleven Spaniards and some Indians travelled nine miles inland where, trading at various Coast Miwok villages, they obtained limited quantities of acorns and hazelnuts.

On December 8, the survivors crowded onto the Philippine launch, named hopefully the *San Buenaventura*, and sailed southward toward the coast of Mexico. After a perilous journey of seven weeks the party reached Mexico City.⁷

Tangible evidence of the Cermeño expedition was found by anthropologists years later in the discovery of ten iron spikes from planks of the *San Agustín* wreckage which the Indians salvaged to roof their underground dwellings. When the houses were abandoned or were burned, as often happened, the spikes remained buried in the site.⁸ Broken pieces of Chinese porcelain were also found in piles with emptied clamshells, broken tools, and other rubbish. Evidently it had been acquired in the South Pacific by the Spanish for trade. When washed ashore the china was utilized by the Coast Miwok until it became too broken to be of further value.⁹

The encounter between Cermeño and the Coast Miwok had little long range effect, except to indicate for the purposes of this paper the accessibility of Coast Miwok villages to Europeans, and the peaceful character of native culture before prolonged Spanish contact.

The next Spanish penetration into this area, which led to permanent settlement, did not come until the Gaspar de Portolá expedition which reached the Golden Gate in 1769. Portolá took note of the topography of the area and of the gentleness of the natives in the vicinity of present San Francisco, to whom he gave gifts of beads. His soldiers explored far enough north on the east side of San Francisco Bay to observe San Pablo Bay, "another estuary of equal magnitude and extent with the one which we had in sight . . . but that in order to go round it one would have to travel many leagues . . . and that the mountains were rough and difficult."¹⁰ Satisfied with reaching San Francisco, Portolá returned to San Diego from where he had set out. Reports which he wrote regarding the expedition were so favorable that in a short time Spanish authorities gave permission for the establishment of five new missions, two of which were to be north of Monterey. San Francisco was immediately chosen for one of the sites, but the mission itself was not begun for about six years.¹¹

The San Francisco Bay area was not visited after the Portolá expedition until 1772, when a party journeyed north from Monterey under Pedro Fages, "in order," according to Father Junípero Serra, to choose the site which might be the most appropriate for the Mission and at the same time get into communication with the pagan people of that region and win their good will in order that so much would be gained against the time when they would be able to establish the Mission.¹²

The Fages party travelled around the southern end of the bay and was impressed by its magnitude and the fertility of surrounding lands. In 1774 another land expedition made a more detailed exploration, and in the summer of 1775 a party in a small packetboat, the *San Carlos*, entered and explored the channel.¹³

In June, 1776, the Viceroy of New Spain sent thirty soldiers, twelve settlers and their families, and "two converted Indians from Old California and another from the Mission of San Carlos" to begin work on the building of the new mission to be known as San Francisco de Asís at Dolores.¹⁴

This became an important coast mission in northern California. Here the Coast Miwok, and Indians of many other tribes, were brought together. However, since mission administrators treated all Indians uniformly, it is almost impossible to pick out the Coast Miwok as individuals within the mission. Furthermore, contemporary observers of the missions often wrote such prejudiced and conflicting descriptions of the Indians that they are valueless.¹⁵ Mission death and baptismal records give the most accurate statistical picture of specific Indian groups since they often included names of individuals or villages which can be tied by linguists to specific tribes.¹⁶

However, before some of the details of mission life are described, it should be pointed out that there were several overall effects of Spanish-Coast Miwok contact. The direct shock of a physical merger between two vastly different cultural groups was an immediate effect of Spanish contact. This ranged from slight, as in the case of temporary contact by Cermeño, or limited exploration of Indian lands and conversion of Indians in the early mission period, to the extremes of kidnapping, mixture of tribes, and punitive expeditions, in the later mission period. The upset in the aboriginal way of life must also be examined in respect to material culture and food supply.

It should also be pointed out that the missions had as a dominant goal the conversion of a people to a new way of thinking. Economic and political factors, while no doubt involved, were secondary. In order to realize their purposes the missions had to submerge (really try to eliminate) Indian culture.¹⁷

A request granted to Father Serra in 1773 by the Viceroy of New Spain was that "the missionaries were to have the right to manage the mission Indians as a father would manage his family, and the military . . . should . . . preserve perfect harmony."¹⁸ The neophyte (newly baptized Indian) was to be kept like a child by the mission administration which encouraged him to believe that his superiors were, according to the French navigator, Jean François Galaup de la Pérouse, "in immediate and continual communication with God."¹⁹

Since conversion to Christianity necessitated redirecting the Indian's way of thinking it became essential to "brain-wash" from his mind many of the cultural traits which had distinguished him and his ancestors for generations. This resulted in a violent forced adaptation in California from a delicately adjusted native way of life, in

the period of two to three generations, to an entirely new material and psychological environment.²⁰

The specific missions, besides San Francisco, where this program affected the Coast Miwok were, until the mission system moved into their homeland in 1817, Santa Clara and San José. There, as in other parts of the Spanish Empire, the missionaries, skilled by the light of centuries of experience, played upon every conceivable desire of the "heathen" in order to get him into the mission. They emphasized the external show of their religion — the ceremony, music, and processions as well as holding out inducements of food and shelter.²¹ Missions Santa Clara and San José were both established in 1772, and Paloú wrote regarding Santa Clara that local Indians were given clothes and surplus food in order "to attract them to the fold of the Holy Church."²²

Conversion by force, therefore, was not resorted to, and in fact was not needed to attract Indians during the very early mission period in Upper California. Indians went to the missions from surrounding areas because of the inducements offered, even though they literally came to "belong" to the church once they were baptized.

This does not imply that there was complete acceptance of the mission system by the first neophytes. As early as 1781 Father Serra listed fifteen Indians whom he described as "confirmed apostates," and subsequent to that date no year passed without some mention of fugitives in official correspondence.²³

The first Coast Miwok baptism is on record at San Francisco for the year 1783, so it can be assumed that limited numbers of Coast Miwok were being brought south at that time to share in the "benefits" of mission life. By the 1790's, however, it was becoming more difficult for clerical authorities to persuade the Indians to come into missions voluntarily for any reason. Why did resistance of the Indians to the mission grow? The answer lies in the basic differences between Indian and Spanish culture which became amplified in the mission surroundings.

Mission law took away the Indian's previous freedom, although he was placed under no greater physical restraint or social compulsion than many civilized groups today. But to the Indian of that period loss of freedom was a severe blow ²⁴

The labor system, in particular, was a constant source of dissatis-

faction. Aboriginal Coast Miwok and other Indian groups customarily had undergone extensive physical labor procuring food, preparing shelter, etc., but the thing that all Indians objected to about the mission labor system were the conditions under which it operated. The basis of aboriginal labor was intermittent, rather than regular, in conjunction with need and seasonal food supplies.²⁵ The mental and bodily exertion demanded by the mission, although it was generally not excessive, was completely new to him. The complex system of rewards and penalties which were associated with the labor system constituted a more serious obstacle to the attempted reorientation of the Indian than more brutal, but comprehensible physical contact. Steady labor of any kind was alien to the Indian's social heritage, but all activities in the missions ran by schedule. At dawn a bell tolled for mass which all attended. After breakfast the Indian went to work. At twelve o'clock was lunch, then work until sunset except for three breaks for prayers.²⁶

In addition to the general labor relating to the economy of the mission proper, the military soon recognized and took advantage of the abundance of Indian manpower. "It was a great temptation to the not overly industrious soldiers to tap the great reservoir of substantially free Indian labor."²⁷ A system, therefore, was soon devised by which the clergy loaned out their charges to the presidios to labor for the military. These services were to be paid for in money or commodities, but the payment went to the missions, not the Indians.²⁸

Since most Indians in Central California were not warlike, they retaliated to infringement upon their former liberty by various forms of passive resistance or fugitivism. Louis Choris, a Russian artist, observed at Mission Dolores that he never saw an Indian laugh or look one in the face. "They look as though they are interested in nothing."²⁹ This attitude carried over to the Indian's required daily work, and he would stall on the job, malingering, invent diverse excuses for not working, and as a last resort, run away from the mission altogether. The missionaries in any of these instances regarded him as indolent, lazy, and oblivious to what was really good for him.³⁰

Outside observers of the mission system criticized the tendency to be unyielding and uncompromising to native culture. Mahr in his observations at San Francisco noted many negative policies. He

pointed out that the priests were not skilled in practical knowledge or trades which applied to their positions in the New World, commenting that they were "no different than monks in convents in Europe."³¹ He was also critical of the fact that the missionaries had no toleration for Indian culture: "they have not troubled themselves with their history, languages, customs or religion." Choris observed that there were "more than fifteen Indian tribes represented in the mission," obvious from varied complexions, stature, language, tattoo markings, etc., but that the Spanish seemed oblivious to the differences.³²

Paolo Emilio Botta, another contemporary observer, felt that most of the problems of the missions were caused rather by "a bad system of education than by the civilization itself." He observed that

The Indians were reduced to servitude. They became workslaves for a master, who for the most part treated them with severity, a severity quite distant from the sweetness of the Gospel; and . . . I am persuaded that instead of depriving them immediately of all of their customs and of their natural habits and forcing them to a kind of life in which they only experience its afflictions, without enjoying its advantages, since their labors only benefit the Missionaries, if they had in mind to make them happy men, not merely Christians whose welfare is to be awaited only in the world to come, they would have succeeded in civilizing the Indians and in opening to them the treasures of the mind without bringing harm to the opulation of the land. But for such an undertaking more enlightened men were required than those to be found among Spanish monks.³³

If the Spanish had been tolerant of native culture they might have realized that their concepts of law were too alien for the Indian to comprehend. Punishment for resistance to mission regulations were in two classifications, "criminal and political." The first applied to derelictions of duties contrary to the welfare of Spanish or mission Indian society. This included crimes such as murder, assault, rape, theft, armed robbery, arson, and sex delinquencies, which were particularly offensive to the Church.³⁴ Political crimes included offenses against Spanish mission society through failure to conform to its requirements and act in its interest. This included fugitivism, refusal to work, conspiracy to overthrow the existing regime, theft, or destruction of military or mission property and armed opposition to any missionaries, soldiers or civilians.³⁵

Punishment of the Indian took several forms All missions had a

"calaboose" and the usual punishment for both criminal and political categories was flogging, although stocks and irons were also used. The sentence was usually carried out by the soldiers, who were themselves severely disciplined, or by other Indians. At San José a slight punishment was fifteen lashes. Any Indian failing to attend his work for two weeks without leave or without a good excuse received fifty lashes. Fighting at the *rancherías* resulting in bloodshed was punished by one hundred lashes and confinement in the guard house in irons for several weeks. Indians were also punished for absence from mass. Six lashes were punishment for one day's absence, fifteen to twenty for two days to a week.³⁶ The guilty party was either tied to a post or stretched face downward on the ground near the guard house. His breechclout was removed and his shirt raised. The *alcalde* or *capataz* delivered the number of blows ordered by the *padre* on buttocks or on the back below the shoulders.³⁷

At San José a shaman was found secretly leading dances and religious ceremonies in the woods near the mission. A priest had the man "seized, bound, and carried to the mission where he was put in irons, and awarded a novenary of twenty-five lashes . . . every day during nine days, to teach him that he should not practice devilry, and that it might serve as a warning to others."³⁸

For very grave crimes an offender was sometimes subjected to the "ley de Bayona." His head was put in the stocks or a gun was tied to his legs below the knee and his hands tied to the gun, and he was then flogged.³⁹

All of these punishments were generally ineffective because they degraded the Indian and inspired the chastized and his friends with an implacable hatred of the mission system.⁴⁰

The growing response to corporal punishment was fugitivism. Therefore, punishment for offenses against the California mission system could be effective only in conjunction with effective pursuit and capture of runaways. Certainty of capture was essential. If an Indian thought that he could commit a misdemeanor in the mission, run away and avoid recapture, any threat of retribution after his return would be meaningless. Throughout most of the mission period the probability of the capture of runaways, therefore, was very high and relatively few fugitives made a permanent escape up until 1834 when the missions were secularized and systematic attempts

to pursue and recapture broke down.⁴¹ Capture of the escaped neophytes was also facilitated in the early mission period because fugitives would return to their home territory, generally short distances from the missions.

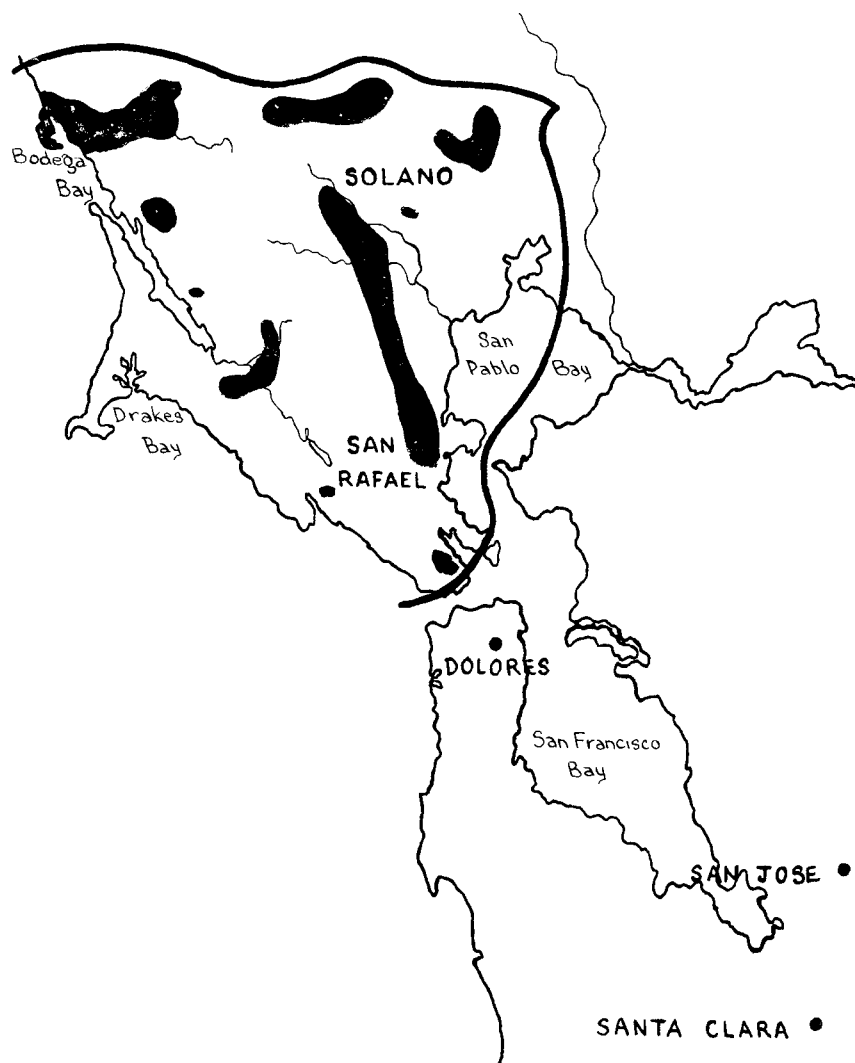
Another feature of the missions which soon disenchanted the Indians was the prevalence of illness and subsequent death from contact with Europeans and their culture. Nutrition in the missions was an important factor leading to this condition.

In their aboriginal state Coast Miwok food came from a variety of sources. They made a kind of bread out of tule bulbs, relied a great deal upon acorns, fish and other sea life and shot small game "such as hares and birds" with bows and arrows. Powers wrote that the Miwok "eat all creatures that swim in the water all that fly through the air, and all that creep, crawl or walk upon the earth, with, perhaps a dozen exceptions."⁴² Bancroft claims that, "Before the arrival of [American] miners game was so plentiful that even the lazy natives could supply their necessities."⁴³

In contrast most of the food supplied to the mission Indians came from the mission proper. The largest single source was mission-grown grain, then mission livestock and finally, to an undetermined extent, wild food which the neophytes used to supplement their diet.⁴⁴ Cook calculated that because of drains through trade, supply to presidios, spoilage, etc., and inequality of rations given to Spanish and Indians, the latter received an inadequate diet. After careful analysis he estimated the Indians consumed an average of 2,320 calories per day.⁴⁵ He concluded that this was so inadequate that the Indians as a whole lived on the verge of clinical deficiency.⁴⁶

There were occasional famines at the missions under examination which lowered the daily rations even further. In 1806, the Father-Minister at San Francisco reported that stock was dying and the crops were poor. He added that crops were being planted in the region of San José "to alleviate the great misery in which these unfortunate neophytes find themselves."⁴⁷ Father Prefect Mariano Payeras wrote to Governor Solá in 1821 regarding food shortage and hardship upon the neophytes over a period of three or four months.⁴⁸

There were many factors other than poor diet, however, which contributed to the Indians' susceptibility to sickness and disease



Source: Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California

Courtesy of the Author

Concentration of Coast Miwok Population during the period of Spanish missionization.

Although epidemics carrying off hundreds or thousands in a short period of time as occurred in Mexico were absent in Upper California, there were periodic semiepidemics.⁴⁹ With respect to nonvenereal disease contagion was facilitated by keeping large numbers of Indians in close contact in the notably unsanitary missions. Indian villages were widespread and generally contained no more than one hundred inhabitants. In the missions unmarried men and women were separated and forced to sleep in large rooms or compounds, with little ventilation, no heat or protection from dampness. Hundreds of neophytes were packed closely together providing a breeding ground for disease.⁵⁰ In addition to this, sewage was disposed of by dumping it in the most convenient place, often a pond or stream. Because of the concentrated population this became a perfect arrangement for the spread of gastronomical disorders.⁵¹

Change of climate was also influential in the spread of sickness. The Coast Miwok populated missions in territories which had climatic conditions similar to their home area, but as the Indian populations around the mission declined new converts were brought in from varied geographic and climatic regions. Most of the missions were subject to damp, foggy seashore climate which brought complaints even from Spanish administrators.⁵²

Indians taken to the coast from warmer, drier hills and valleys of the interior succumbed to many illnesses during the process of acclimatization and no doubt became a reservoir of diseases which infected Indians already adapted to the environment. The Spanish recognized this fact and repeatedly reported the unhealthy state of the neophytes, particularly with reference to tuberculosis, noting that most serious illnesses coincided with the rainy seasons of late winter and spring.⁵³ Infection was also transported by Indians being transferred from one mission or presidio to another, or the infection of nonmission Indians by runaways before being captured and returned to the mission.⁵⁴

In addition to the above-mentioned conditions, another great factor in the moral and social disintegration of the Indian population was the spread of syphilis. This disease appeared in Upper California within the first decade of settlement where its prevalence and devastating qualities were unaimously testified to by priest, layman, soldier, and civilian.⁵⁵

From the first, Spanish-Indian contact was characterized by disorderly sexual conduct of soldiers and civilians in respect to Indian women.⁵⁶ Priests were even reluctant to send soldiers in pursuit of escaped Indians in the early mission period because of their sexual misbehavior.⁵⁷

By the nineteenth century increase of syphilis was so serious that at San Francisco it was reported that "there are no good Indian boatmen — those who might be available are in great part attacked by syphilis." In the same area it was observed that "Indians are dying of syphilis, many have the lesions, and others have it internally."⁵⁸

The spread of the disease was not retarded by the attitudes of the natives toward sex. Promiscuity was extensive among the Indians although it was frustrated considerably by the zeal of the missionaries. The native attitude was natural, since the aboriginal population, while controlled by definite laws and customs regulating sexual activity, was allowed more freedom than under the Spanish civil code or the code of Christian morals.⁵⁹ "It was this liberal and plastic tradition with regard to sex which ran squarely up against one of the most rigid and uncompromising inhibitory codes the world has ever seen."⁶⁰

Another phenomenon in the missions was the prevalence of abortion and infanticide which developed from a sporadic cultural item into a serious, although haphazard, attempt on the part of the Indians to check population growth. It was therefore a form of passive resistance and another outgrowth of the generally bad conditions of disease, unsatisfactory diet and restriction of personal freedom in the missions.⁶¹ A Dutch observer of Mission Dolores reported that "the confinement in which the Indians were kept, and a solitary life, were usually found so irksome that few of them continued long under lock and key; they soon acquiesced in that state of passive obedience which it was the aim of the institution to establish."⁶²

Because of all these factors the native populations in the areas of Missions San José, San Francisco, and Santa Clara were so reduced by 1796 that it became standard policy to send private parties and expeditions to "recruit" neophytes from Costonoan and Coast Miwok stocks. This is substantiated by official correspondence and the heavy

increase, by several hundred, of baptisms shown in the San Francisco Mission records at this time.⁶³

The death rate at the missions continued to rise to a peak in the decade from 1800 to 1810 at the time when the most Coast Miwok were coming into contact with mission life. Annual records during this period show tremendous fluctuations in death rates. During this decade 1,213 Indians were baptized and 1,031 were buried, reflecting no doubt, health conditions, since no other factors, aside from war or natural disasters, of which there were none, could induce such increases.⁶⁴ Measles, one of the "periodic semi-epidemics" hit the San Francisco Bay area in 1806. All of the neophytes were hard hit, but the children suffered most. The mean child death rate in 1806 for all the missions was 335 per thousand. In San Francisco alone it was 880, and the population under ten years of age was almost entirely wiped out.⁶⁵

Mahr commented that San Francisco with a population of about 1000 Indians had 300 deaths in 1815. In 1816 the death rate by October was 270, and it was reported that native populations near the missions were becoming "virtually extinct."⁶⁶

At this time several new sites were planned for missions to the north and south of Monterey. Those approved for establishment north of San Francisco were San Francisco Solano and San Rafael in the heart of the Coast Miwok territory. There they would have, as a dual purpose, the formation of a barrier against the encroachment of Spanish territory by Russian settlers from Fort Ross, sixty-five miles northwest of San Francisco, and the provision of fresh Indians for the northern missions.⁶⁷

Solá, fearing panic among the neophytes because of increasing death rates at Mission Dolores, suggested the transfer of part of their numbers to San Rafael the year it was founded, 1817.⁶⁸ At first the San Francisco neophytes were given a choice of transferring to the new mission or staying where they were. In spite of the increased death rates, it was difficult to persuade the Coast Miwok, native to the region of Bodega Bay, to go inland to San Rafael, but some of the neophytes at San José readily volunteered for the change because they had been taken from that area originally. It was clear that each Indian, if he could not return to his ancestral home, preferred to live

in a region that was most similar to it. This was simply homesickness, an added motivation for fugitivism.⁶⁹

With the opening of San Rafael the missionaries made a clean sweep of the Coast Miwok villages to the shores of the bay and ocean within several years and began to penetrate north to the vicinity of Sebastopol and Santa Rosa. During the same period a considerable number of Coast Miwok were taken to San José to build up its falling population. A few of these who were still alive, were allowed to return to the Sonoma-Solano Mission when it opened in 1823.⁷⁰

The total of Coast Miwok baptisms at the various missions under examination were: San Francisco 896, San Rafael 916, Solano 48, and San José 162, for a sum of 2,020. It will be remembered that the total Coast Miwok population was estimated at 3,000 in aboriginal times. A baptism in any of these four missions usually represented a withdrawal of one person from the native community, since once an Indian entered the mission the greatest attempt was made to keep him there until he died. Therefore, the total baptisms must very closely approximate the total population of the area over a period of forty years. The aboriginal population decreased due to the spread of disease by soldiers and fugitives to the extent that the death rate outran the birth rate. Hence the new converts were being drawn from a diminishing population.

At the end of the Spanish mission period the Coast Miwok had the questionable distinction of being the only tribe north of San Francisco Bay that came under the complete and thorough subjugation of the missions. Their response to Spanish culture, or the lack of response, proves that the Coast Miwok, an exactly adapted people (as were all California Indians) were not well-suited for adjustment to a drastically new culture which demanded severe sacrifice of old beliefs. It also shows that the California mission system, with its unyielding rules and lack of tolerance for the intricacies of Indian culture, helped to destroy the very natives to whose salvation it was dedicated.

NOTES

1. A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Berkeley: California Book Company, Ltd., 1953), pp. 272, 442. Hereinafter cited as Kroeber, *Handbook*.

Kroeber states that the Penutian Miwok living at Clear Lake and along the Coast north of Golden Gate were "ancient emigrants of enterprise toward the West, or remnants of a once wider distribution of the group." He adds that the geographical separation and difference in language was considerable, but not exceptional between the Coast and the Interior. This is possibly a very significant point in the history of the later mission period. If Interior Miwok were able to communicate orally with the Coast Miwok and learn from them the intricacies of the mission system, it may explain why they put up such a strong resistance to the Spanish compared to other tribes in the area. This is a point which deserves investigation.

2. S. A. Barrett, "The Ethno-geography of the Pomo and Neighboring Indians," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1908), p. 302. Hereinafter cited as Barrett, "Pomo." Kroeber in *Handbook*, pp. 273-74, points out that Marin County is bordered by a diversified coast line. Temperature and wildlife must have been unusually favorable for occupation and food supply. Most of the Coast Miwok villages were located near estuaries. The narrator of Drake's voyage made reference to a settlement about three-quarters of a mile from the landing point. Bolinas Bay had one village at least. South of Bolinas Bay to beyond the Golden Gate, cliffs made the shore uninhabitable, but Sausalito and the shores of Richardson Bay near San Francisco Bay were inhabited, as were the shores adjacent to San Rafael. There were several settlements in the vicinity of Ignacio and Novato. On San Antonio Creek, to the east, was the village of Olompali and its outposts. A number of little towns were also located on Petaluma Creek. Petaluma and Likatiut were possibly the most significant.

Sonoma Valley was occupied by southwestern Wintun as well as Coast Miwok. Tchokoyem or Chocuyen was the term used to designate the Coast Miwok in Sonoma Valley. Its origin is unknown, but other tribal groups were designated by village names: Timbalakees, Petalumas or Yolhios, Olompalies, Tamalanos or Tumalehnias, Baulines, and Oleomi.

3. Robert F. Heizer, "Archaeological Evidence of Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeno's California Visit in 1595," 1942 reprint from *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XX (December, 1941), 6.

4. *Ibid.* Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 276, quotes from Sir Francis Drake's descriptions of the natives of "Nova Albion." The following breakdown of the Drake material illustrates Coast Miwok aboriginal traits in more detail:

(a) Dwellings: typical semisubterranean structures of north central California:

"Their Houses, which are dug round into the Earth, and have from the Surface of the ground, Poles of Wood set up and joined together at the top like a spired Steeple, which being covered with Earth, no Wether can enter, and are very warm, the Door being also the Chimney to let out the Smoak, which are made sloping like the Scuttle of a Ship: Their Beds are on the hard Ground strewed with Rushes, with a Fire in the midst round which they lye and the roof being low round and close, gives a very great Reflection of heat to their Bodies "

(b) Dress:

"The Men generally go naked, but the Women combing out Bulrushes, make with them a loose Garment, which ty'd round their middle, hangs down about their Hips: and hides what Nature would have concealed: They wear likewise about their Shoulders a Deer skin with the Hair thereon. The Common People, almost naked, whose long Hair tied up in a Bunch behind, was stuck with Plumes of Feathers, but in the forepart only one Feather like a Hord." The "King" had "on his Head a Knit work Cawl" (the net cap of central California), "wrought somewhat like a Crown, and on his Shoulders a Coat of Rabbit Skins reaching to his Waste," a typical woven fur blanket.

(c) Money:

"The money of central California is . . . unmistakable, although the shell was taken to be bone, and the half mediaeval imagination of English enacted sumptuary regulations of which the Indians were certainly ignorant."

(d) Weapons:

"Their Bows and Arrows (which are their only Weapons, and almost all their Wealth) they use very skillfully, yet without much Execution, they being fitter for Children than Men. . . ."

5. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

10. Herbert Eugene Bolton, ed., *Fray Juan Crespi, Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast, 1769-1774* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1927), pp. 234-35.

11. Barrett, "Pomo," p. 38.

12. George Wharton James, ed., *Francisco Palou's Life and Apostolic Labors of the Venerable Father Junipero Serra Founder of the Franciscan Missions of California* (Pasadena: James Wharton James, 1913), p. 131. Hereinafter cited as Palou, *Serra*.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 196-97.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 200-201.

15. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Native Races: Wild Tribes*, (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, Publishers, 1883), I, 365-66. Hereafter cited as Bancroft, *Tribes*. Bancroft describes all Central California Indians in a very general manner. The contradictions and prejudices referred to are quoted from contemporary observations:

"At Bodega Bay 'they are an ugly and brutish race, many with negro profiles.' " "They are physically an inferior race, and have flat, unmeaning features, long, coarse, straight black hair, big mouths, and very dark skins." "They were in general

fine stout men." "... none of the men we saw were above five feet high ... ill-proportioned ... we had never seen a less pleasing specimen of the human race." "... the men are almost all rather above the middling stature, and well built; very few indeed are what may be called undersized ... Some of the women were more than five feet six inches in height." "Their color is a dirty yellowish-brown." "... Their complexion is a dark mahogany, or often nearly black. ..."

16. S. F. Cook, "The Aboriginal Population of the North Coast of California," *Anthropological Records*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (1956), p. 121. Hereinafter cited as Cook, "Population." Cook states, "Identification of the Coast Miwok can be made in most of the records (1) by the year and the location (e.g., the year 1817 at San Rafael); (2) by village names identical with or similar to those listed by Barrett and by Kroeber; (3) by linguistic affinities (such as the prefix *echa-* or the suffix *tamal*); and (4) by subsidiary notes in the records indicating geographical location."

17. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *California Pastoral, 1769-1848* (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1888), pp. 151-52, 161, 167. Hereinafter cited as, Bancroft, *Pastoral*.

18. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California, 1542-1800* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, Publishers, 1884), I, 209. Hereinafter cited as Bancroft, *Calif.* I.

19. *Ibid.* I, 436.

20. Bancroft, *Pastoral*, pp. 151-60.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 228-29. A great deal of attention was given to instilling the teachings of the Church in young children, who, according to Bancroft, "became indeed children of the church."

22. Palou, *Serra*, p. 213.

23. "Padrón" San Carlos, Dec. 22, 1781, State Papers, Ben. Mil. 3:27, quoted in Cook, "Conflict," p. 58.

24. Bancroft, *Pastoral*, p. 241.

25. Bancroft, *Calif.* I, p. 376.

26. Bancroft, *Pastoral*, pp. 232-36.

27. Cook, "Conflict," p. 95. Bancroft in *Calif.* I, p. 700, states that in 1794, Indians were recruited to make adobes to fortify the presidio at San Francisco. The padre attempted to obtain an extra blanket and pair of breeches for each laborer per month as payment but failed. In April of that year twenty-two Indians ran away.

28. A. C. Mahr, *The Visit of the "Rurik" to San Francisco in 1816* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1932), p. 95. Hereinafter cited as Mahr, *Rurik*. Hubert Howe Bancroft in *History of California, 1801-1824* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, Publishers, 1885), hereinafter cited as Bancroft, *Calif.* II,

relates that Fort San Joaquin in San Francisco, in a deplorable condition because of storms, was fortified in 1805, by stone walls built by "Indian captives without cost to the king."

29. *Ibid.*, p. 99. Bancroft, however, in *Calif.* II, 34-35, notes armed resistance against the padres at San José and tells of a suspected plot to burn mission Santa Clara.

30. Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *The Missions and Missionaries of California* (Santa Barbara: Mission Santa Barbara, 1938), II, 298.

31. Mahr, *Rurik*, p. 83. Bancroft, *Pastoral*, p. 225, refers to the use of sheep-skin folios especially adapted for teaching Latin hymns to the neophytes.

32. *Ibid.* Bancroft notes in *Calif.* I, 589, that it was government policy and the duty of the friars to introduce the Spanish language in place of the vernacular, "thus fitting the natives for future citizenship."

33. Paolo Emilio Botta, *Observations on the Inhabitants of California, 1827-1828* (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1952), p. 13. Frederick William Beechey, who wrote very favorably of the relations between the padres and neophytes at San Francisco in 1827, nevertheless, stated, "It is greatly to be regretted that . . . the priests do not interest themselves a little more in the education of their converts."

34. Bancroft, *Pastoral*, p. 213.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*, p. 215.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 232, 237. Bancroft reports that those who absented themselves from morning or evening prayers were given the choice of a flogging with a raw-hide whip or hazel twigs. A mother who allowed a child to die from neglect was forced to carry a wooden block for as long as the child would have been carried had it lived.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 215.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

40. Cook, "Conflict," p. 122.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 134. At San José, Bancroft notes in *Pastoral*, p. 291, order was kept easily because so many Indians were of different tribes that someone would always report any misdemeanors or conspiracies to the priests.

42. Bancroft, *Tribes*, p. 376. Kroeber, *Handbook*, pp. 273-74, states that the Miwok evidently preferred to live in the open near the coast to be near the supply of "mussels, clams, fish, and water fowl." They would occasionally visit the hills to hunt, but mollusks evidently were a more dependable diet than wild game.

43. *Ibid.*

44. Cook, "Conflict," pp. 33-35.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
47. Cabot to Solá, San Francisco, Oct. 30, 1819, Archbishop's Archives, 3:116, quoted in Cook, "Conflict," p. 53.
48. Payeras to Solá, San Francisco, Aug. 5, 1821, Archbishop's Archives, 4:76, quoted in Cook, "Conflict," p. 54.
49. Palou, *Serra*, p. 213. As early as 1777 there was an epidemic at Santa Clara. Palou wrote: "By the month of May of the same year the first baptisms took place, for as there had come upon the people a great epidemic, the Fathers were able to perform a great many baptisms by simply going through the villages. In this way they succeeded in sending a great many children (which died almost as soon as they were baptized) to Heaven as the first fruits that they might ask God the conversion of their relatives and tribesmen."
50. Bancroft, *Calif.* I, p. 722. Bancroft, *Pastoral*, pp. 231-22, reports that bachelors were locked in at night by the alcalde who gave the padre the key. Young women were kept in a *monjerio* from the age of seven or nine until they married. A married Indian woman called the *madre abadesa* had charge of the *monjerio*. Roll was called at the door as the girls went in at night. The door was then locked and the padre given the key. Any girl who was missing at roll call was locked in the *monjerio* during the day, and her mother was punished for allowing her to be absent.
51. Cook, "Conflict," pp. 31-33.
52. Bancroft, *Calif.* I, p. 472, 714.
53. Cook, "Conflict," p. 31.
54. *Ibid.* Bancroft in *Calif.* I, p. 542, writes that at San Francisco in the 1790's "Indians were harangued on the horrors of an English invasion," and Bancroft in *History of California, 1840-1845* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, Publishers, 1886), p. 73, reveals that in at least one instance Indians were told that epidemics were spread south from English and Russians settlements north of Bodega Bay.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
56. Bancroft, *Pastoral*, p. 405.
57. Bancroft, *Calif.* I, p. 483.
58. Abella to Argüello, San Francisco, Sept. 30, 1815, Archbishop's Archives, 2:102, quoted in Cook, "Conflict," pp. 26-27.
59. Cook, "Conflict," p. 30.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 102
61. Bancroft, *Pastoral*, p. 217 Also see Cook, "Conflict," p. 104

62. *Ibid.*

63. Cook, "Conflict," p. 75.

64. Bancroft, *Calif.* I, 713.

65. Cook, "Conflict," p. 18. Bancroft adds in *Calif.* II, p. 131, that during this epidemic 236 neophytes died in three months at San Francisco.

66. Mahr, *Rurik*, pp. 81-82.

67. Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California*, (San Francisco: N. J. Stone & Company, 1898) I, 495-99. Hittell writes that, "San Rafael offered some, but a very weak, barrier to the Russians," and that "From the beginning it was rather a military than a religious establishment. . . ."

68. Bancroft, *Calif.* II, 329, 374. By 1820 the death rate at Dolores was nearly seventy-five per cent of the neophyte population.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 504.

70. Cook, "Population," p. 121.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Mexican American: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography. By The Center for Latin American Studies, Stanford University. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969. 139 pp. \$1.80, paper.) Reviewed by Kaye Briegel.

Since August 1965, and especially since March 1968, there has been a rush among scholars and educators to affirm the existence of people of Mexican descent in the United States. There have been many books, articles, courses, departments, teachers and experts created to explain the history, culture and influence of Mexican Americans on the larger society. Stanford University's bibliography is both a contribution to this rush and a catalog of recently published books and articles which are a part of it.

The Center for Latin American Studies at Stanford, under the direction of John J. Johnson, has assembled this bibliography. Professor Johnson is not especially noted for his work on Mexico or the Southwest. The actual work, however, seems to have been done by several graduate students. The project was financed by a grant from the United States Office of Education.

The primary assets of Stanford's bibliography are its annotations. They describe the subject and major conclusions of the works cited. These annotations, however, are less than critical. It seems that no biased or stereotyped works were selected for inclusion. Works of historical value also are often described as "dated."

Although this bibliography, according to the Preface, "focuses upon the contemporary interests and concerns of the Mexican-American community," it also claims to do "justice . . . to contributions of an earlier generation of scholars and publicists in the field of Mexican-American studies." Certainly Emory Bogardus, one of the pioneers in the study of Mexican-Americans, did not receive justice in one extended annotation. His work on repatriation in the 1930's, for example, remains the only available source and it is ignored by Stanford. Another scholar, O. Douglas Weeks, who has published studies of Mexican-Americans in Texas politics and the only study of a Mexican-American organization ever in a scholarly journal, is similarly slighted.

The contemporary interests and concerns of the Mexican-American community also seem somewhat slighted. Only two articles from Mexican-American publications are cited and they are both from *El Grito*. The remainder of the Chicano Press Association, along with more traditional Mexican-American publications, are absent. The Index, in addition, only includes five citations after "Chicano Movement."

This bibliography was prepared, again according to the Preface, because "no annotated guide to outstanding printed works on the Mexican-American has been published recently." It acknowledges, however, the existence of two other, much more detailed bibliographies: Mexican-American Study Project, Advance Report 3, *Revised Bibliography* (UCLA, 1967) and Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican-American Affairs, *A Guide to Materials Relating to Persons of Mexican Heritage in the United States* (Wash. D.C., 1969); the second was published just eight months

earlier than Stanford's. Both of these also include government publications, unpublished studies and other useful sources not listed by Stanford.

Yet the Preface again specifies that Stanford's bibliography is intended for the specialist as well as the "informed layman." Its use to a specialist, in light of these other two works, is unclear. It seems really designed for those with little background who are just beginning to investigate Mexican-Americans largely in the current literature — perhaps like those who prepared this bibliography.

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The Costansó Narrative of the Portolá Expedition. Translated and Edited by Ray Brandes. (Newhall: The Hogarth Press, 1970. 112 pp. \$15.00.) Reviewed by W. Michael Mathes.

The bicentennial of the founding of Alta California has prompted the publication of many works relative to the Spanish advance to the area in the eighteenth century. Dr. Ray Brandes has produced a new edition of the *Diario Histórico* of Engineer Miguel Costansó as a part of this bicentennial literature.

The author of the *Diario Histórico* was a major figure in the initial exploration and establishment of Alta California in the years 1769-1770 and, as a cartographer, civil and military engineer, one of the few professional men involved. On 14 July 1769, in the company of Gaspar de Portolá, Costansó left San Diego in search of Monterey Bay. He was, then, among the first Europeans to traverse a large part of California by land and was attendant at the discovery of San Francisco Bay. After his return to San Diego in January, 1770, Costansó again prepared to explore northward, and in April of that year accompanied Fray Junípero Serra on an expedition to establish the mission and presidio at Monterey. Returning to New Spain in July, 1770, aboard the *San Antonio*, Costansó became involved in the preparation of plans for other fortifications and public works, including modifications to the drainage works of the city of Mexico, built by another cartographer of California, Enrico Martínez, in 1607.

Also upon his return to Mexico, Costansó wrote his *Diario Histórico*, dated 24 October 1770. This now rare imprint gives a short history of the advance on California as planned by José de Gálvez, detailed descriptions of *flora* and *fauna* encountered on the Portolá expedition, and ethnological observations with particular attention to the Chumash of the Santa Barbara Channel. As an engineer, Costansó reflects little excitement over the discovery of San Francisco Bay ("an immense estuary") but describes Monterey and the projected mission and presidio with enthusiasm.

This new edition of the *Diario Histórico* is preceded by an Introduction dealing with Costansó and the printing history of his work. Lacking are citations to the great bibliographies of Nicolás León (he cites a 1792 German edition) and Henry R. Wagner, and several inaccuracies are apparent including the citation of this reviewer as an earlier editor of the *Diario Histórico* (my thanks just the same).

The Introduction is followed by a very nice facsimile of the original work and a readable narrative English translation. Although some possible improvements could be made in the translation, these are minor items in light of the major shortcoming to this section, an absence of annotations to correct Costansó's inaccuracies and to provide additional geographical and biographical data. Annotations do appear as a separate section following the translation but are of a bibliographical nature. While this bibliography is up-to-date and rather comprehensive, citations to Spanish archival sources are vague and garbled, and several other inaccuracies such as the lack of a citation to Fr. Ernest Burrus' extensive work on Rivera y Moncada and the attributing of a work on San Blas to this reviewer.

Physically, by far the best part of this book is the facsimile of the original *Diario Histórico*. The number of typographical errors, particularly in Spanish, is extremely high and a makeshift accent and tilde detracts further from the esthetic qualities of the book. While this latter aspect makes the price of this book excessive, in light of the high cost of earlier out-of-print editions, it is relatively low and this new edition is more up-to-date.

W. MICHAEL MATHES, author of *Vizcaíno and Spanish Expansion in the Pacific Ocean 1580-1630*, is associate professor of history at the University of San Francisco.

The City of the Plain: Sacramento in the Nineteenth Century. By V. Aubrey Neasham and James E. Henley. Janice A. Woodruff, editor. (Sacramento, California: The Sacramento Pioneer Foundation in cooperation with The Sacramento Historic Landmarks Commission, 1969. 230 pp. \$25.00.) Reviewed by John A. Hussey.

Capital of the nation's most populous state, center of one of California's most rapidly growing urban areas, and site of one of the country's most imaginative and successful inner core renewal projects, Sacramento is today recognized throughout the land for what it is — a dynamic and important city. Not so well known is the fact that from the last years of Mexican rule through the end of the nineteenth century, Sacramento had a significance and influence far in excess of what might have been expected from the size of her population.

Sutter's Fort, on the site of the future city, was the rallying point for American settlers against what some of them chose to term Mexican "oppression." From here the Gold Rush was set in motion. Sacramento was the great distributing point for supplies and men to the northern mines, and later it was the agricultural and commercial depot for the Central Valley and Sierra. Here the Central Pacific was conceived and the first tracks of the transcontinental railroad laid. Sacramento was the terminus of one of the world's first long distance hydroelectric power transmission lines, and it was the proud possessor of the first private art gallery west of the Mississippi River.

This sweeping, dynamic story of the earlier Sacramento is the main theme of *The City of the Plain*. The text, brief and graceful, traces the flow of events,

chronicling the triumphs and the seemingly even more frequent disasters, but always maintaining a broad historical perspective. The burden of the story, however, is borne by the 375 superb illustrations which make up the bulk of the book, for *The City of the Plain* is a pictorial history. Literally thousands of woodcuts, drawings, paintings, lithographs, and photographs were examined by the authors and editor, and those so skillfully selected for reproduction almost by themselves tell Sacramento's saga. Many of them are published for the first time in this book.

As the reader turns the pages and studies the pictures, he becomes aware that the work has a second and broader theme and that it carries a forceful message. He notes that in the brief span of about fifty years life for the people of Sacramento, as for those over much of the world, changed from the simple to the complex, from the pastoral to the industrial. The quaint scene of a bonnetted woman bringing a lunch basket to three miners working their claim with pick and shovel contrasts strongly with the later photograph of a steam coal bucket designed to replace hand labor and with the 1890's view of the Folsom Power House. One feels sure it was no accident that the last picture in the book shows a turn-of-the-century automobile whisking along a rural road near Sacramento, for as the authors clearly point out, the past "constituted, in many ways, a prologue of what the city has become today."

This handsome and sensibly sized volume, designed and printed by Lawton and Alfred Kennedy, is a joy to own simply as an example of the bookmaker's art. Four of the illustrations are reproduced in color, and many others are in duotone. But the true reward of possessing *The City of the Plain* comes from the opportunity to pore time and time again over its pages until you can smell the dust of J Street and hear the clanging bell as the *Governor Stanford* pulls into the Central Pacific depot on Front Street. With the nostalgic odor and the clamor comes the realization that as man struggles to improve his lot he loses something in the process — and will, perhaps, lose everything. Thus, in this outstanding book, does local history illuminate the story of the world.

JOHN S. HUSSEY is a foremost authority and author on the Central California area and on the Gold Rush period.

Scientists in Conflict: The Beginnings of the Oil Industry in California. By Gerald T. White. (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1968. 272 pp. \$8.00.) Reviewed by W. H. Hutchinson.

Two towering peaks in the High Sierra commemorate the California sojourns of the central figures in this latest work by the state's leading authority on its petroleum developments. Josiah D. Whitney and Benjamin Silliman, Jr., loomed large during the age of versatility in American science; both contributed to the fruitful marriage of technology and natural resources that marked the latter portion of the nineteenth century. Most importantly, both men were involved in the first major invasion of California by outside investment capital, and from this stemmed their conflict.

Silliman's optimistic reports to his commercial clients in the east, reports that heralded an almost fabulous wealth to be gained from California's petroleum resources, played a major part in triggering the state's first oil boom, 1864-1867. To Whitney, these reports threatened the life of the California Geological Survey, which he headed, and thus Whitney's professional eminence and financial well being. Too, Whitney regarded Silliman's actions as a threat to science in general, and as a blot upon the escutcheon of Yale College. In his self-view, Whitney was the Vestal Virgin at the shrine of "pure" science, while Silliman was the defiler of the temple. As a result, Whitney launched a campaign against Silliman which can with propriety be termed the most rabid scientific and academic vendetta of its time.

It is this conflict that provides the strand upon which the author has strung his beads of solid data to form a necklace of symmetry and substance. Its sparkle comes from a dry and deliciously ironic sense of the human frailties of both men. Its symmetry is shaped by a strong narrative flow. Its substance derives from meticulous attention to the scholarly responsibilities of the historian's art. The result is a most valuable contribution to our understanding of the development of California and the contiguous mining west, for which Professor White deserves great thanks and many readers.

W. H. HUTCHINSON is the author of *Oil, Land, and Politics* (1965) and is Professor of History at Chico State College.

Oregon Imprints, 1845-1870. By George N. Belknap. (Eugene: University of Oregon Books, [1968]. \$10.00.) Reviewed by Edwin H. Carpenter.

A checklist of imprints (*i.e.*, items printed in a given area in a given period) is so specialized that one would not expect to find it reviewed in a general historical journal, but occasionally one is published which transcends its primarily bibliographical nature and becomes a tool of interest and value to the student of history. The most recent of these is *Oregon Imprints, 1845-1870*, by George N. Belknap of the University of Oregon. In printing and bookbinding specifically, and in many general ways, there were close links between early Oregon and California, and the content of this well-done volume should prove of interest to the reader and collector of Californiana.

The principal earlier work on this subject was done by a major American student of printing history, Douglas C. McMurtrie. For many years Mr. Belknap has been revising and expanding McMurtrie's list, to the point that he has created a new work, nearly treble the size of its predecessor. In addition to the very large number of added entries, this work combs out some erroneous entries in McMurtrie. Inevitably there are still a few obscure items that will turn up, and perhaps a few minor errors in Belknap to correct, but surely the major work has now been done on Oregon imprints of the first quarter century of printing in that state. There are over fifteen hundred entries

Since this is a general journal rather than one interested in bibliography as such, I shall not go into detail about coverage, form of entry, and other facets which would interest the bibliographer wanting to evaluate a new imprint checklist. Suffice it to say that as far as I can judge all these things are well executed and well presented, in an intelligible system. The arrangement — as usual in such bibliographies — is chronological, but there are excellent indexes to allow other approaches; more about them later.

What is there, then, for the student of history? Much of interest. It is true that a very large portion of the listings are for laws, government reports, minutes of religious bodies, political speeches, military orders, documents of fraternal orders, and similar productions which seem likely to be rather dull. No doubt many of them are, but early Oregon was such a lively place, and this was a period of concern with such large problems as slavery, Indian relations, etc., that even the most innocuous-seeming reports, speeches, and proceedings may contain some very interesting and significant reading. In this book we do not get the texts of these items, of course, but Belknap is so generous with annotations and quotations that one can just dip into the work here and there and find much to intrigue and delight. The politics of the day and the place were uninhibited, and there are some pretty lurid blasts and counterblasts. Even several of the military documents transcend the routine. And, of course, there are some — admittedly rather feeble — belles lettres, including the earliest published works of Joaquin Miller.

The compiler is that rare scholar who can tweak his own nose. For instance, in the annotation to item 823 he points out how slow-witted he was in not recognizing the satirical nature of a political broadside about General Henry W. Halleck when he first recorded it in an earlier publication; and in the annotation to item 1059 he blames himself for an inaccurate description supplied to another historian. The only error I noted which I shall mention is the conversion of San Francisco's charming Helen Giffen into "Griffin" (p. 131).

Lists of this nature are usually of most use to people concerned with printing history and bibliographical matters, since even if the annotations are fairly full the topics involved are buried in the mass. Belknap has done his best to offset this with a detailed index which includes many entries for general topics, such as "aliens," "divorce," "horses," "photography," "nurseries," "stages," and so on; he even tells the user which items are satirical, surely a new high in indexing. Thus people working on many aspects of the history of the early West can turn to Belknap to find what was published in Oregon in the period. My only regret here is that such fine indexing does not cover the appendix of unlocated imprints, as in that section there are items of interest to the student of, for example, pyrotechnics.

As I have indicated, even casual browsing will soon turn up such a tidbit as the 1861 broadside (item 618) issued by the citizens of Salem "in Indignation Meeting assembled" to warn the people of southern Oregon and California against an itinerant lecturer on phrenology and related topics who, they said, had seduced a Salem woman.

EDWIN H. CARPENTER, doctoral degree recipient from UCLA, is a distinguished bibliographer and collector of Western Americana.

Hamlin Garland's Diaries. Ed. by Donald Pizer. (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1968. 296 pp. \$7.50.) Reviewed by John W. Nichol.

A large portion of the forty-three volume diary which Hamlin Garland kept from age thirty-seven to age eighty had already been published before Donald Pizer and the Huntington Library, where it is deposited, got around to the task of the present book. Garland himself was the earlier editor, having mined and used the vast assortment of material for his own seven autobiographical books — *A Son of the Middle Border* (1917), *A Daughter of the Middle Border* (1928), *Back Trailers from the Middle Border* (1928), *Roadside Meetings* (1930), *Companions on the Trail* (1931), *My Friendly Contemporaries* (1932), and *Afternoon Neighbors* (1934). What Mr. Pizer has done for us is to corral the unused material, sort it into significant thematic piles, and put it together so that we have, in effect, the basis for seven or eight more autobiographical books that Garland himself might have written, given the time and inclination.

Hamlin Garland's Diaries may be useful to future Garland scholars (serious researchers will still have to consult the original diaries since Pizer does not indicate how much unpublished material he decided to omit and for what periods and reasons it was omitted); but the greatest value of the collection will be for the general intelligent reader and student of American life from 1900 to 1940. Hamlin Garland was an astute observer of everything that went on around him; he had developed an interesting and excellent style for setting down these observations; and he was part and parcel of America itself during these momentous years, reflecting both its strengths and its incriminating weaknesses and prejudices.

Since Garland had used rather fully the earlier parts of his diary, the preponderance of entries in the present collection come from the last twenty years of his life between the ages of sixty and eighty. Although for California readers there is some advantage in this as it gives us valuable and personal insights into the decades of the twenties and thirties in Los Angeles and Hollywood, there is still a pervading and reactionary gloom hovering over the comments of an old man living through an age of change and depression. Indeed, one of the most remarkable sections of the book is the unflinching self-portrait Garland gives us of an aging man facing the loss of reputation and physical faculties. He at least has not joined those other writers who, he observed, "make no record of their growing lethargy of mind and body" (p. 71).

Beautifully written descriptions of his own first automobile ride (thirty-two miles in four hours), of his first sight of a heavier-than-air craft leaving the ground, of his meetings with the dying octogenarian officers of the American Academy of Arts and Letters, of his fears that both pornography and the Jews were taking over America, of his own evaluation of more than a hundred eminent personalities, events, and places of the time — all these and more make for fascinating reading as well as valuable source material for American studies.

The combination of Hamlin Garland, Donald Pizer, and the Huntington Library has been a felicitous one, producing for us another worthwhile, well-edited text of Americana.

JOHN W. NICHOL is an associate professor of English at the University of Southern California

Vizcaíno and Spanish Expansion in the Pacific Ocean, 1580-1630. By W. Michael Mathes. (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1968. 186 pp. \$12.00.) Reviewed by Francis F. Guest.

This historical study, precise, thorough, and abundantly documented, presents a much-needed re-evaluation of Sebastián Vizcaíno. The author, W. Michael Mathes, is a professor of history at the University of San Francisco.

After Drake's circumnavigation of the globe, the Spanish government sought a port of call for the Manila Galleon on its way to Acapulco. Seamen aboard the galleon suffered from insufficient food, illness, and exhaustion on the long voyage from Manila up along the coast of Japan, across the North Pacific, and down the coast of California to New Spain. A mid-way anchorage would have been a welcome relief to the beleaguered mariners. Besides, there was danger from hostile vessels that might invade the North Pacific. And there was fear that England, or another foreign power, might discover the Northwest Passage before Spain did.

If a port of call were to be discovered along California shores, the entire coastline would have to be explored and accurately charted. This mighty task, not as yet adequately performed by previous voyagers, fell to Sebastián Vizcaíno, a capable man of wide experience who had served in the Spanish army, had spent three years as a merchant in Manila, and had led an expedition of three vessels in an effort to explore the Gulf of California. Vizcaíno's voyage of exploration up the outer coast of California, 1602-03, was not followed up by the Spanish government with an immediate effort to colonize Monterey. His later attempt to win for Spain a commercial foothold in Japan was a failure. And Spain ultimately abandoned hope of establishing a port of call for the Manila Galleon on the coast of California. But Vizcaíno, notwithstanding all this, was a man of great historical significance. The reports of his voyage in the Gulf of California, of immense value to later explorers, made him the real founder of pearl fishing in that area. The logs and maps of his voyage up the coast of the North Pacific were of great importance to Spanish skippers when, in 1769, Spain decided upon expansion into Alta California. Vizcaíno's cartography provided the information upon which the success of the sacred expedition of 1769, in no small measure, depended. Although Vizcaíno has been criticized and compared unfavorably with Rodríguez Cabrillo, Mathes presents an able defense of the great explorer, ranking him "with Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and Juan de Oñate in New Mexico, and Hernando de Soto in the Mississippi Valley as one of the great early figures of the northern borderlands of New Spain."

This book is a study, not a biography. It concentrates on the career of Vizcaíno as navigator and diplomat. Learned footnotes provide copious information on matters of detail and dispute. Much of the documentation cited is new. Over thirty maps by Enrico Martínez, one of Vizcaíno's cartographers, outline significant points along the California coast, e.g., San Diego Bay, the Santa Barbara Channel, Monterey Bay, Cape Mendocino, etc. And the text, brief and compressed though it

is, presents a political and commercial setting in which the figure of Vizcaíno can be seen in clear historical perspective.

FR. FRANCIS GUEST, O.F.M., obtained his Ph.D. degree in history from the University of Southern California where he was a visiting professor in 1968-1969. Currently, Dr. Guest is director of the Academy of American Franciscan History in Washington, D.C.

Frontier Settlement in Mexican California. By C. Alan Hutchinson. (New Haven and London; The Yale University Press, 1969. 457 pp. \$10.00.) Reviewed by Austin N. Leiby.

A primary responsibility of the historian is to clarify. Professor Hutchinson has clarified the muddled situation surrounding frontier settlement in California during the late Mexican Period; but, more than that, he has opened other vistas for historical contemplation through presentation of new, or relatively little-known, information. This is done in a singular manner, with the view of one observing developments from a vantage-point in Mexico. This lends a very real note of impartiality to the study. Insertion of new data and information is done unobtrusively, easily, without disrupting the chain of previously-known historical events. The result is a truly professional study of significant value.

After gaining independence in 1821, Mexico evaluated previous Spanish efforts to strengthen and protect the northern frontier, in particular her California territory which was endangered by a Russian presence. The cession of rights on the coast above 42° by Spain to the U.S.A. in 1819, and rumored Russian-Spanish discussions about the status of northern California territories, increased Mexican concern. The basic problem facing Mexicans was the same as that which had perplexed Spanish planners: right of ownership in a rapidly changing world truly depended on physical possession. Mexico had been saddled with the previous Spanish burden: law and custom seemed to preclude extensive private ownership of California land, while apparently encouraging colonial settlement. This situation had arisen out of Spanish concern to protect the land rights of the native races. Mexican liberal philosophy rejected the situation as ridiculous ambiguity — while at the same time retaining a sincere desire to protect Indian rights. Further complicating the problem was a strong desire on the part of non-Indian residents of the northern California territory to gain legal title to lands in their possession — and to choice lands which were held in trust for the Indians by the mission system.

The mission system had accomplished its secondary goal, but had badly faulted in its primary purpose. It had made the vast mission properties, worked by Indian labor in practical bondage, into the very mainstay of the territorial economy — providing basic needs for government, military, and public at large. But, it had not managed to educate the Indian, to make him self-supporting, nor to change his attitude sufficiently enough so that he would desire to be an independent person and a tax-paying citizen. Thus the Spanish gamble came to naught — the gamble

to "populate" the northern territories with "revitalized" and "civilized" native races loyal to Spain — and the Mexican problem became even more complex. For, if legal ownership was to be established by physical possession, Mexico would have to both furnish colonists from a hard-pressed economy at home *and* disrupt the stable economic situation which discouraged private ownership necessary for successful colonization.

Professor Hutchinson describes the processes by which the Mexican government, in mid-1834 under Valentín Gómez-Farías, decided to risk disruption of the territorial economy and the active opposition of territorial residents. A large group of native Mexicans, to be financed by the confiscated Pious Fund, was organized and dispatched to colonize the Russian-threatened frontier area of northern California. The Farías Colonization Plan, placed under the civil direction of Jalisco politico José María Hajar and under the military direction of Colonel of Engineers José María Padrés, had other goals: to separate the civil from the military functions and offices of the territory, to bring the territorial governmental machinery back under the nominal control of the central Mexican government, and to speed up the general mission secularization process which had been ordered implemented the previous year.

None of these goals were achieved. Governor José Figueroa subverted the plan to separate civil from military affairs, blocked the Farías' mission-secularization plan and instead continued a local plan which eventually led to American penetration, and maintained the precarious balance-of-suspicion between the Territorial and the central Mexican governments which effectively prevented cooperative efforts.

Professor Hutchinson's data clearly questions Figueroa's land deals, Gómez-Farías' real intentions, and both Hajar's and Padrés' qualifications to deal with a person of Figueroa's complex character. These were the three key ingredients which led to failure of the Farías' colonization plan, and which helped to pave the way for eventual American conquest. Governor Figueroa emerges in a different light than that previously shed upon him — one which may cause a more detailed study to be made of his life and effect on California history.

AUSTIN N. LEIBY, presently completing dissertation research in the archives of Spain, is a Research Assistant in History at the University of New Mexico. Mr. Leiby, a long-time student of history, has lived in Mexico, Spain, and the Southwest for prolonged periods.

California: An Illustrated History. By Don E. Fehrenbacher and Norman E. Tutorow. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1968. 184 pp. \$12.50.) Reviewed by John A. Schutz.

Included with these photographs of California's past is a crisp narrative that recounts many of the state's most memorable events and gives some incidental meaning to the illustrations. The selection of photographs is well mixed with

action pictures of parades, mob scenes, and men working in the fields and industry and still portraits of political and cultural leaders. There are a total of 290 pictures, produced in shades of black and white upon fine quality paper, in an oversize book measuring approximately eight inches by eleven.

From the pictures and narrative the general impression of California's history is an accurate and exciting one, but viewers will turn initially from the magnificent colored cover to the pictures inside the book, to scenes of Yosemite, Donner Lake, and the Redwoods that are produced in black and white. The contrast is sharp and unfavorable. Also the illustrations will have a reduced appeal because of the great number of portraits of forgotten leaders and of photographs of buildings. For collectors of Californiana the book contains little that is unusual or exceptional. A few views of freeway exchanges, modern architecture, and scenes during the great depression are impressive. There is a noticeable omission of illustrations of cultural institutions, literary figures, and sports areas. Such influential Californians like Sproul, Sterling, Milligan, and Wheeler are not even mentioned; such recreational areas as Catalina Island, Sequoia National Park, Lake Tahoe, and Dodger Stadium are also ignored (Disneyland is pictured but not listed in the index). The great port of Los Angeles, San Pedro, and its rival, Long Beach, are likewise overlooked.

The fast-moving narrative generally favors a broad interpretation of California history. Events of significance are mentioned, but events since 1900 are given more space. Four of the ten chapters concentrate upon such subjects as Progressivism, the Depression, and the Second World War, and such local issues as the University of California's oath controversy, the population explosion, and minority living conditions are briefly but well treated. While California's religious groups get only passing notice, Aimee Semple McPherson received unsympathetic treatment in spite of her extensive welfare work during the Depression. She merited at least two pictures for her supposed notoriety, but other religious leaders, their churches, and monuments are ignored. The motion picture industry won greater favor, but television and radio are only mentioned. These limitations are undoubtedly necessary because of space. They indicate, however, the scope of the book and the interests of the authors. The book has merit as a reference work and the narrative is without doubt far better than the usual commentary in illustrated histories.

JOHN SCHUTZ, professor of history at the University of Southern California, is secretary of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association.

Los Angeles: A Profile. By W. W. Robinson. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968. 138 pp. \$2.95.) Reviewed by Gloria R. Lothrop.

With the publication of *Los Angeles: A Profile*, W. W. Robinson should be declared *de facto* laureate of Los Angeles. With agile style and an irrefutable command of fact, Robinson's engaging disquisition on this model megalopolis

deals with the "why" of wholesale migrations to Southern California. In the process of defining "this city in spite of itself," he fearlessly grapples with the largely corrosive, acrid, sometimes wise, and almost always amusing barbs about this "sprawling seacoast of Iowa." Yet out of the protean blur without face or profile, where smog "may be seen clinging to the horizon which presses closely and blots out distance," this lifelong Angeleno has successfully brought the past and present cities into convergent focus.

With affectionate familiarity Robinson leads us on a gambit from the stubby streets around the Plaza to the old tar path, now Wilshire Boulevard. From Goodfellows' Grotto he takes us to the Daisy. And proves he is as familiar with fact as locale as he firmly parts with the critics in pointing to the contributions made by Southern California's most distinguished necropolis, Forest Lawn. In fact, the author is so much a part of the scene that his justified impatience with the progress of the Plaza restoration is faintly discernible along with the tentative courtesies he extends toward the Los Angeles Master Plan.

As we steer through the unruly and matted mass of freeways, Robinson relates the historic conflicts associated with the development of Los Angeles harbor, the rise of organized labor and the *Los Angeles Times*, as well as the burgeoning forth of cinematic Hollywood. Even the question of minority unrest is given historic dimension as the problem is traced from the 1830's when Indians from the secularized missions were segregated in the "ranchería de poblanos" near today's City Hall. Robinson uses the same approach in linking past real estate booms and erratic zoning laws with the city's suburban sprawl and the consequent surge of branch banking and shopping centers.

It is in the final chapter "Vital City," that the essential *zeitgeist* of these "six suburbs in search of a city," is captured. As he offers examples of the furious eagerness with which Angelenos have seized upon flamboyant religious nostrums and utopian political schemes, the author presents a core sampling of the drift, experimentation, and quasi-Mardi Gras state of mind, induced in part by the beneficent climate as well as by the munificent economy. In contrast, his chapter "Cultural Detonation," could have extended its sampling beyond the corps of "instant Medicis" and bibliophiles to include the germinations at Idyllwild, JPL, and the Renaissance Pleasure Faire.

Although *Los Angeles, A Profile* does not purport to answer all the "why's" — especially in terms of Los Angeles' economic vitality appreciably sustained by ocean commerce, aviation, and the television and recording industries, it is a balanced and informed study. It unabashedly debunks hallowed apocrypha and also provides a knowledgeable bibliographic essay for students in the field. But the book is also a delight for the newcomer. It brings to life the Spanish names like Pico and Verdugo which beribbon the city's landscape. No less is it a book for the native or nearly-so who while plying the traffic tides across the Cahuenga Pass or toward San Gabriel, muses upon the ancestry of his super-city.

GLORIA RICCI LOTHROP, who received her Ph.D. degree in Western American history, is on the history staff of Marymount College, Los Angeles.

A Voyage of Discovery, into the South Sea and Beering's Straits; for the Purpose of Exploring a North-East Passage. By Otto von Kotzebue. Bibliotheca Australiana, 17-19. (Amsterdam and New York: N. Israel and Da Capo Press, 1967. 3 vols. 1258 pp. \$50.00.) Reviewed by W. Michael Mathes.

The first voyage of Kotzebue ranks among the principal scientific voyages of all time. Total scientific observation of latitude, longitude, soundings, temperatures, geology, flora, fauna and settlement was sought as was the preparation of accurate maps and charts. The principal supporter of the enterprise was the Chancellor to the Tsar, Count Romanzow, who not only selected Kotzebue as commander but also secured the aid of leading scientific observers such as Eschscholtz, Chamisso and Choris.

Sailing from Kronstadt in July, 1815, Kotzebue, with the *Rurik* proceeded to Tenerife in the Canary Islands and thence to Brazil, Chile and across the Central Pacific to Kamchatka. Because of Russia's deep interest in eastward expansion, extensive observations were made in the Aleutian Islands, along the Northwest Coast and in California where Russia maintained a fur trading outpost. After a pleasant and instructive stay at San Francisco, Kotzebue sailed for Hawaii where Russian plans for occupation of the islands were at their zenith.

In December, 1816, Kotzebue sailed from Hawaii to explore the Radak and St. Lawrence Islands, Onalaska, the Ladrões, Guam and the Philippines. After a year in the Pacific, the *Rurik* began her return voyage and in the spring of 1818 reached Capetown. Another great voyager of the Pacific, Freycenet, was met there, and Kotzebue then continued northward, anchoring in the River Neva in August, 1818.

Following the text of the voyage and observations made, an extensive appendix containing individual reports is included. Krusenstern reports upon the discovery of islands; Eschscholtz on the diseases of the crew, monkeys, microorganisms, butterflies, temperatures and winds; and, Engelhardt on the geological collections of Eschscholtz. The most extensive report is that of Adelbert von Chamisso which includes such varied topics as flora, fauna, ethnology, vocabularies of Tagalog, Pelew, and the Marianas, the origin of coral islands and history and demography of Tenerife, Brazil, Chile, the Philippines, Radacks, Marianas, Carolines, Penrhyns, Aleutians, Johnstone Island, Hawaii and Kamchatka.

Originally translated from the German, and published in London by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown in 1821, this second English edition faithfully follows the first in facsimile with eight color plates and six maps. Printed on high quality paper and nicely bound, Kotzebue's *Voyage* is a valuable and necessary addition to any library or collection of history or voyages.

W. MICHAEL MATHES, an authority on sea exploration, is an associate professor of history at the University of San Francisco.

The Indians of Los Angeles County: Hugo Reid's Letters of 1852. Edited and annotated by Robert F. Heizer (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1968. 142 pp.) Reviewed by Homer Aschmann.

Hugo Reid lived in three worlds, a Scottish and Anglo-American one in which he was born, educated, and died, a Spanish American one to which he was marginal

through most of his adult years, and a California Indian one to which he was introduced by marriage. During most of his twenty years in California he was an accepted alien both to the Mission-Mexican society and to the dissolving Indian community, some of whose members could remember the first arrival of the missionaries. He could view both cultures with sympathy but objectivity. His letters about the Gabrielino and Fernandeano Indians were published in the *Los Angeles Star* in 1852, and have been reprinted and excerpted repeatedly since. It is widely believed that he was attempting to establish his credentials to gain appointment as Indian Agent for Southern California, having gone bankrupt in the confusion following American annexation. His death intervened, but it is tempting to speculate on how the Mission Indians might have fared had they had a truly knowledgeable and sympathetic spokesman.

Before professional ethnographers such as Merriam and Kroeber began to work with them at about the beginning of this century the intensive development of the Los Angeles lowland had swallowed the indigenous cultures more completely than elsewhere in Southern California. Thus Reid's account of some aspects of the nonmaterial culture becomes singularly precious. He has preserved fragments of a rich and intricate but unbelievably alien oral literature, something that interested few of his contemporaries, missionary or secular. Only now, in an existentialist context, can it find an appreciative audience.

The brief account of missionization as recounted to him by old Indians rings true. Reid favored the progress of civilization, and he was not writing a polemic against the Church or its missionaries. The free use of the whip, forced labor, and almost penal confinement of a whole population is simply and matter-of-factly described. No single document I know of provides a better corrective to the still pervasive myth of California's mission idyll.

In the introduction to this edition Professor Feizer provides a succinct account of Hugo Reid's life and the subsequent publications of his letters. The footnotes are technical and refer to the identification of Indian words and place names from other sources, and well as comparing the *Star* text with one published by W. J. Hoffman in 1885 from now lost manuscripts.

Extremely wide margins, large type, and careful proof-reading characterize the printing of the text itself. The footnotes are not so well attended. Some numbers did not get into the text, and some have no referents in the note section. One paper (Davis, 1961) mentioned in a note does not appear in the bibliography. These are minor points, but they mar what was intended to be a definitive reprint edition.

HOMER ASCHMANN, a distinguished scholar on the Spanish- and Mexican- period Indian life, is professor of history at the University of California, Riverside.

Labor Politics American Style: The California State Federation of Labor. By Philip Taft. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968. 288 pp. \$7.00.) Reviewed by Franklin D. Mitchell.

In 1901 representatives of several labor unions in California, conscious of

the need for a central labor organization to articulate the cause of workers, formed the California State Federation of Labor. Philip Taft, convinced that labor historians have missed the political significance of state labor federations, has recounted the history of the California organization from its founding until the merger of the AFL-CIO in 1958. Although strapped by meager financial resources and possessing very limited jurisdiction over affiliated unions, the Federation quickly established itself as the dominant voice of California workers. The organization, employing such traditional political means as lobbying, campaigning for pro-labor candidates, and legal maneuvering, secured and successfully defended an impressive array of labor welfare legislation beneficial to organized and unorganized workers alike.

As an outline history of the Federation, Taft's book is satisfactory. He has written a detailed account of the organization's myriad activities over the years, including the Federation's position on such diverse matters as the Tom Mooney Case, communist-dominated unions, the welfare of migratory workers, and the deep-seated prejudice of union members against Orientals and other minority groups. What is unsatisfactory is the author's analysis of these activities; occasionally he fails to get inside the facts, something his almost exclusive use of federation sources should have encouraged him to do. Indeed, his heavy reliance upon published federation reports and the correspondence of union officials (regrettably, the latter cited in footnotes without reference to the collection from which it was drawn) has prevented him from establishing the record of opposition to federation policies. For example, in describing the political and organizing clashes that developed between the Federation and the CIO, records of the latter were not consulted. Moreover, Taft failed to consult the pertinent secondary literature that would have allowed him to place his findings more adequately in the larger framework of state and national history.

Despite these limitations, Taft has broken new ground in an important area. Hopefully other scholars will probe more deeply the California story—and the history of state federations elsewhere—to afford us a fuller understanding of the political role of organized labor in America.

FRANKLIN D. MITCHELL, an authority in recent United States history and a specialist on former President Harry S. Truman, is an associate professor of history at the University of Southern California.

Book Notices

By ANNA MARIE AND EVERETT GORDON HAGER

They Came by Sea: a Pictorial History of San Diego Bay, by Jerry MacMullen, is welcomed not only by San Diegans but especially by those maritime buffs who scan the Pacific Blue through the medium of such well illustrated and narrated navigational histories. Jerry MacMullen has accomplished a remarkable and long awaited achievement in assembling such a splendid collection of photographs and preparing such a ship-shape study of the colorful past and development of his own home port. The volume has been exquisitely printed by the Ward Ritchie Press. (The Ward Ritchie Press and the Maritime Association of San Diego, 1969. 152 pp. paperback \$3.95; hard bound \$6.75).

There is little doubt as to the busiest and most productive of Los Angeles-based historian-writers when one reads and relishes the finely printed and researched publications issuing from the pen of the Reverend Francis J. Weber, archivist for the Los Angeles Roman Catholic Archdiocese. *San Fernando Mission: an Historical Perspective* (66 pp. 1968. \$10.00); *Christ on Wilshire Boulevard: a Guide to Saint Basil's Catholic Church* (32 pp. 1969. \$3.00); and *Thomas James Conaty: Pastor, Educator, Bishop*, (82 pp. 1969. \$7.50) — all designed and printed by the Westernlore Press of Los Angeles.

The concerned citizens of the sprawling megalopolis, Los Angeles, have long sought a solution to their top-heavy, constantly amended city charter and now finally they can analyze the published recommendations of the Los Angeles City Charter Commission in *City Government for the Future* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1969. 224 pp. paperback, n.p.).

Adobe and Iron: the Story of the Arizona Territorial Prison at Yuma, by John Mason Jeffrey (La Jolla, California: Prospect Avenue Press, 1969. 114 pp. paper bound \$1.95; hard bound \$5.95), is an unusual prison history graced with an informative preface by Bert M. Fireman, good photographs, document facsimiles and maps that mark Jeffrey's work as the definitive evaluation of the Yuma Arizona Territorial prison's thirty-four eventful years and the parade of its colorful inmates.

Surely 1969 will go down as *the* year for publications in the field of *Railroadiana* as more and more books in this category arrive commemorating the driving of the Golden Spike at Promontory, Utah. In *The Track Going Back: a Century of Transcontinental Railroad, 1869-1969*, a special salute is due Everett L. DeGolyer, Jr., for his sensitive prose-text and selection of the very choice 103 full-page photographs (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 206 pp. \$5.00). The American Geographical Society's Occasional Publication No. 3, *The Golden Spike: a Centennial Remembrance*, edited by Wilfrid Webster (New York: Broadway at 156th Street, 1969. 118 pp. \$5.00), may well prove to become one of the richest source items issued on the Transcontinental Railroad of 1869. Henry Varnum Poor's "Railroad to the Pacific" and "Proposed Pacific Railroad," reproduced in facsimile, and James Douglas' "Historical and Geographical Features of the Rocky Mountain Railroads" are

certainly of inestimable value. Even more valuable is the splendid bibliographical work "The Railroad in History," by Lynn S. Mullins. Miss Mullins has prepared a bibliographical essay on the major sources of information on railroad development and expansion in this country and in addition includes photographers and those specialized museums and libraries devoted to railroads and transportation that house materials of interest to both rail fan and scholar.

Another addition to the quickly growing list of titles associated with the bloody Lincoln County War of eastern New Mexico is Eve Ball's *Ma'am Jones of the Pecos* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 238 pp. 1969. \$6.50). Of especial interest are the chapters devoted to "Lord Trayner" and "Sources by Episode." A good index enhances this worthwhile and indepth study of Ma'am Jones and her nine sons.

A most welcome reprint by the Mendocino County Historical Society is Edith Van Allen Murphey's *Indian Uses of Native Plants* (Fort Bragg, California: 1969. 82 pp. \$2.50). "The Dictionary of Plant Names" and splendid "Index of Scientific Names" were edited and compiled by Walter Knight while the "Index of Common Names" was prepared by Laura Keller. Subjects covered include basketry, Indian foods and beverages, medicinal plants, tobacco, and bows and arrows. This pamphlet will prove a highly informative handbook for the novice botanist and anthropologist. Mrs. Murphey served for ten years in the Inter-Mountain area for the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs and worked with the Paiutes, Bannocks, five groups of Shoshones, Washoes, Utes, and Papagos and managed to bring together their legends and plant lore which is reprinted by the Historical Society.

For some time the University of California Press has been enriching bookshelves by publishing a steady stream of small paperback books in the field of natural history guides with Arthur C. Smith serving as the general editor. The coast of northern and southern California and especially the San Francisco Bay region have been most expertly covered. Of high interest to tide pool visitors will be *Seashore Life of Southern California: an Introduction to the animal life of California beaches south of Santa Barbara*, by Sam Hinton (Berkeley and Los Angeles: 1969. 182 pp. \$2.25).

Edited by W. Patrick Strauss, *Stars and Spars: The American Navy in the Age of Sail* (Waltham, Massachusetts: Blaisdell Publishing Company, 1969. 158 pp. \$1.95) covers the "Origin and growth, 1775-1815," "Days of Doldrums, 1815-1845," and the "End of the Age of Sail, 1845-1862" in this very compact and well arranged study.

The Pemberton Press has initiated a new series of historical reprints entitled the Brasada Reprint Series of rare and useful books on Western and Southwestern Americana. Of considerable interest is their reprint, *California in '41. Texas in '51*, by Nicholas "Cheyenne" Dawson (Austin, Texas: 1969. 124 pp. \$7.50). According to Wright Howes, the original was issued in an edition of fifty copies, and this present edition is a facsimile reproduction of the famous Thomas W. Streeter copy sold at auction in 1968.

The Superior Publishing Company has published a work quite full of ship travel folders and the blue Pacific in Richard M. Benson's *Steamships and Motorships of the West Coast* (Seattle, Washington: 1968. 176 pp. \$12.95). Mr. Benson recounts in picture and in a nostalgic and prideful manner the stories of the famous and unusual vessels that plied the northern Pacific Coast. His final chapter ends on a highly optimistic note touching upon the cargo vessels of the future in "Steamships and Motorships of Tomorrow."

Meadow Lake Gold Town, by Paul Fatout (Bloomington, Indiana: University Press, 1969. 178 pp. \$6.95), recounts the sad yet merry tale in which an eastern Californian town became the site of a feverish gold rush stampede in 1865. Readers of Mr. Fatout's earlier books on Ambrose Bierce will delight in this engaging history presented in fascinating detail of the ever-challenging lure of "Making the Big Strike" that mesmerizes miners and investors alike. It is difficult to realize that nothing remains in the region to remind a present-day visitor of the once booming gold mining town, Meadow Lake.

The Honeycomb: an autobiography, by Adela Rogers St. Johns (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1969. 598 pp. \$8.95), is rich in anecdotal materials covering the newspaper, legal, and motion picture worlds of earlier days spanning 1910 through the 1950's. Much is recalled of William Randolph Hearst and Marion Davies, the parties held at fabulous San Simeon, Mabel Normand, Mary Pickford, Douglas Fairbanks, and other noted personalities that commanded the public spotlight of their day. Also included in the volume are Mrs. St. Johns' coverage of the Lindbergh kidnap case and the Wallis Simpson-Edward VIII marriage.

A paperback edition of *Photographer of the Southwest: Adam Clark Vroman, 1856-1916*, edited by Ruth I. Mahood and published by the Ward Ritchie Press, is now available (127 pp. \$3.95) for the benefit of those who may not have been able to secure the very excellent hardbound edition issued in 1961. This 1969 paperback contains the same splendid 104 plates in the same size as published in the earlier edition. Vroman, bookseller and amateur photographer, took magnificent photographs and preserved through the artistry of his camera many outstanding studies of the Zuñi and Hopi Pueblos and their peoples.

The Landmarks Society of Belvedere-Tiburón, California, have produced one of the truly worthwhile community studies under the authorship of Louise Teather, *Island of Six Names: a History of Belvedere, Marin County, California, 1834-1890* (1969. 48 pp. \$3.35, including tax and postage). It is well illustrated and documented, contains fine maps and a bibliography. This pamphlet should set the style for other communities to follow for the need is great for more of such carefully researched community histories.

Contra Costa County Historical Society has enjoyed a position in the historical publishing field and now issues Dr. George A. Pettitt's study, *Clayton: Not Quite Shangra-La: a Story of a California Town*, (Martínez, California, 1969. 115 pp. \$5.00).

As part of their year-long salute and contribution to the California Bicen-

ennial the Automobile Club of Southern California has reissued *California Under Twelve Flags*, by Phil Townsend Hanna (1937), revised by Anna Marie Hager (1969. P. O. Box 2890, Los Angeles, CA 90054: 32 pp. \$1.00, including sales tax and postage). The twelve paintings by Raymond P. Winters, in full color, make this a very attractive item.

History and Heritage Tours, prepared by Dee Ulrich and illustrated by Patricia Mansur Simpson, has been published by the Women's Division, Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce, 404 S. Bixel Street, Los Angeles, CA 90017 (28 pp. \$1.50). The fine and well illustrated brochure includes a Foreword by Carl S. Dentzel, president of the Cultural Heritage Board for the City of Los Angeles. Areas covered include The Plaza, San Fernando Valley, the Harbor, San Gabriel Valley, and the Central City, heart of Los Angeles proper.

Ever hear of the C.E.R.A.? It is a co-operative program of which the Miller-Wake Language Experience Readers form a vital part of the Conservation Education Through Research and Action publications at the Bakersfield Center of Fresno State College. Informative pamphlets, with Doctors Carl E. Miller and William H. Wake as co-authors, are published for ages six through nine. *Let's Visit Pioneer Village*, *What Do I Like?* and *What Is In the Museum?* are the first titles, the first two sell for 50 cents each, the last for 65 cents, plus tax and postage. These small booklets are well illustrated and printed and serve as handbooks for those concerned with acquainting our young Californians with their rich heritage and the benefits of living in California.

For those for whom the Grand Canyon holds a never-ending fascination, the perfect book to acquire will be Bill and Frances Belknap's brilliant tribute to Gunnar Widforss: *Painter of the Grand Canyon* (Flagstaff, Arizona: Museum of Northern Arizona, Northland Press, 1969. 86 pp. \$14.50). The Northland Press has brought to a high degree superb reproductions of Widforss's exquisite paintings of the Canyon in all its varied moods. Included in this beautifully designed format is a valuable addition for art historians and collectors, a *Bibliography of Western Artists*, American and foreign-born, spanning 1796 to 1899.

Another spritely and vigorous addition to the rich histories marking the John Wesley Powell Centennial will be found in Buzz Belknap's *Grand Canyon River Guide* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Canyonlands Press, P. O. Box 21021, 1969. Water-proof edition, \$5.95; standard edition, \$3.95). The forty-four page river map and the ninety-six historic photographs from the "Dock" Marston Collection enrich Major Powell's own story.

The West Coast of Mexico, edited by Grace Loftin and Tadeo R. T. Brenton (Los Angeles: Mexico's West Coast Magazine, 1969. 256 pp. \$8.95), will prove not only interesting but very informative to those contemplating a trip to the ever-fascinating areas "South of the Border." Copiously illustrated and filled with Professor Brenton's warmly personal descriptions of every city and hamlet, it will provide for an enriching experience and an improved "person-to-person" understanding of Baja California and Mexico.

The Los Angeles Official Handbook for Visitors has arrived and what a valuable contribution it is! Prepared under the direction of the City Economic Development Board and compiled and edited by John Hunt (Los Angeles: 1969. 128 pp. n.p.), it contains an amazing array of good photographs, in color and in black and white, various facets of the City's growth, her natural areas, resources, recreational as well as the areas adjacent to the city's boundaries, travel museums, aeronautical and space developments — all in all one of the better guide-book histories to have been issued in some time.

In Memoriam

ERWIN GUSTAV GUDDE, 1889-1969

Erwin G. Gudde was born in Schippenbeil, East Prussia, February 23, 1889. Though educated as a horticulturist at the Agricultural College in Koesteritz, Germany, his true interest lay in history. He soon entered the University of Berlin, and first began to study history while preparing for a career as a journalist. He emigrated to the United States in 1911, joining the staff of a German-language paper, the New York *Herold*. Next year he became assistant editor of *Vorwärts der Pacific Küste*, a German socialist newspaper published in San Francisco, but after the outbreak of war in 1914 he turned anew to academic pursuits, despite his twenty-six years, entering the University of California as an undergraduate. In 1922 he received his Ph.D. degree in German language and literature, and was a member of the faculty from that year until he retired as an emeritus professor in 1956.

Prof. Gudde was led to major in German language and literature rather than in history by professors who were mindful of the wartime prejudice against German-Americans, and he maintained a lifelong interest in German culture, reflected in such books as *Freiligraths Entwicklung als politischer Dichter* (1922) and *Social Conflicts in Medieval German Poetry* (1934), as in his successful effort of 1949 to have the highest yet unnamed High Sierra peak named Mount Goethe.

Over the years Prof. Gudde acquired a dominant interest in Western Americana, especially the role of German-Americans in California and Western history, and more generally, the origins and evolution of place names. For his works in this field he may be remembered longest. A bibliography was appended to his autobiographical sketch printed in *Names* (March, 1959), but some highlights should be mentioned. His article, "The Source of the Sutter Myth," published in this *Quarterly* in 1930, was followed by an edited document, "The Memoirs of Theodor Cordua," published here in 1933, and by his books *Neu-Helvetien* (1934) and *Sutter's Own Story* (1936). Later he published monographs on Edward Vischer and Friedrich Gerstaecker besides such well-received works as the Charles Preuss diaries, *Exploring with Frémont* (1958), the Heinrich Lienhard overland narrative of 1846, *From St. Louis to Sutter's Fort* (1961), and Henry W. Bigler's *Chronicle of the West* (1962). Several of these books were written in collaboration with his wife, Elisabeth Karpenstein Gudde, whom he married on August 12, 1941.

In the 1940's Prof. Gudde became engrossed by place name studies, out of which came a major monument, *California Place Names*, first published in 1949, with revised and expanded editions in 1959 and 1969. A companion work, *California Gold Camps*, a gazetteer and historical dictionary, will be seen through to publication hereafter by Mrs. Gudde. Prof. Gudde was associate editor of the *California Folklore Quarterly* (1945-1948), and was a founder and first editor (1952-1956) of *Names: Journal of the American Name Society*.

Despite the painful and crippling onset of arthritis, in his latter years Prof. Gudde was a familiar, cheerful figure in the Bancroft Library, where I and many other scholars came to know him, a gentle yet forceful personality always much engaged with history. The California Historical Society proffered him and Mrs. Gudde an Award of Merit in January, 1962, and in May, 1968, the University of California awarded Prof. Gudde a Centennial Citation in recognition of his distinguished achievements and notable service to the University. Three months after his eightieth birthday, Prof. Gudde suffered a stroke at his Orinda home and died within a few days, on May 7, 1969.

DALE L. MORGAN

ALEXANDER THOMAS LEONARD, JR., 1889-1970

Alexander Thomas Leonard, Jr., M.D., Fellow and long time trustee of the California Historical Society, died in San Francisco on January 11, 1970, after a long illness.

Born in San Francisco on July 22, 1889, Dr. Leonard was the son of Dr. A. T. Leonard, a native of Ireland, who came to California in 1883 to settle the estate of his uncle, Nicolaus Skerrett. Making San Francisco his home, he became a prominent physician and civic leader. Dr. Leonard's mother, Margaret Ann Barry Leonard, was born in San Francisco a short time after her parents arrived from Ireland. The Barrys, with six children, had crossed the Isthmus on their difficult journey to California. They were related to the well known pioneer, Phillip A. Roach.

Dr. Leonard, Jr., was a graduate of Santa Clara University, class of 1910, and was a recipient of the University's Award for Distinguished Achievement in 1957. He received his medical degree from the University of Southern California.

Shortly after his graduation, he enlisted in the United States Army, serving with distinction in World War I. His interest in the military continued after the war and he became active in the American Legion, serving San Francisco No. 1 in many capacities, including that of Commander. Dr. Leonard's fraternal affiliations included the Knights of Columbus, which awarded him an honorary life membership.

However, his lifetime interest was in the field of California history. He was an avid collector of Californiana, his residence being a museum of paintings, books, and pamphlets relating to the West. Dr. Leonard's dedicated collecting resulted in the preservation of many historic letters and documents, which added to the enrichment of many libraries.

His membership in historical societies included the Santa Clara Pioneer Society, the San Mateo County Historical Association, E Clampus Vitus, and the Native Sons of the Golden West. In the Native Sons he served not only on various historical committees, but also as Grand Historian of the Order.

In no small part, Dr. Leonard's efforts resulted in the success of the 1935 "Century of Commerce Celebration" and the 1948 Portolá Festival. In both these celebrations he was Chairman of the Historical Committee. For many years he was co-chairman of the annual San Francisco Celebration, and upon his retirement from that position due to ill health, he received the Laura Bride Powers Memorial Award in recognition of his "services in enhancing the general interest and historic renown of San Francisco."

Dr. Leonard's association with the California Historical Society was long and distinguished. Joining the Society in 1926, he was elected a trustee in 1932 and served the Society for thirty years. In 1962 he resigned as a trustee, as his health was steadily failing. His activities in the Society included the Chairmanship of Exhibit Committee for two decades and scholarly articles which he wrote for the *California Historical Society Quarterly*. Dr. Leonard introduced the annual book auctions, as well as an educational program directed by the University of California Extension. For his many accomplishments in the field of California history, the California Historical Society in 1961 gave him the award of "Fellow."

This modest, retiring authority on California history was buried from St. Agnes Church on January 14, 1970.

Dr. Leonard is survived by two sisters, Mrs. Marie L. Fillmore of Yuba City, and Mrs. Viola C. Cooley of La Canada, and by nephews and nieces.

ALBERT SHUMATE, M.D.

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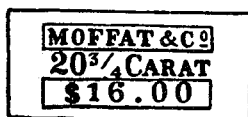
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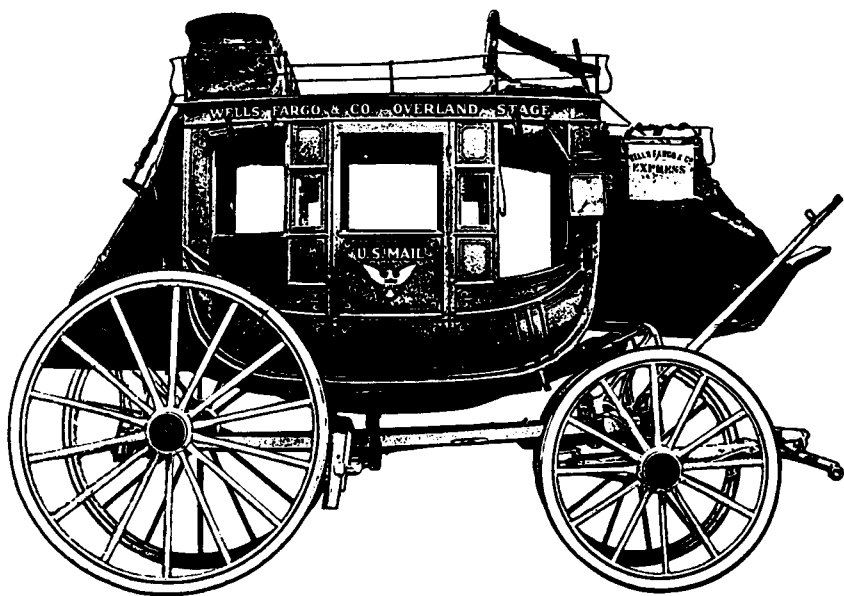
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PARROTT & CO.	SAN FRANCISCO
PATRICK & CO.	SAN FRANCISCO
PENINSULA NEWSPAPERS INCORPORATED	PALO ALTO
POPE & TALBOT, INC.	SAN FRANCISCO
SAN FRANCISCO COMMERCIAL CLUB	SAN FRANCISCO
SAN JOSE MERCURY-NEWS	SAN JOSE
SAN MARINO CITY CLUB	SAN MARINO
THE SAN RAFAEL INDEPENDENT-JOURNAL	SAN RAFAEL
SECURITY FIRST NATIONAL BANK	LOS ANGELES
SIMPSON'S CATERING	SAN FRANCISCO
SOUTHERN PACIFIC COMPANY	SAN FRANCISCO
SPANISH NATIONAL TOURIST OFFICE	SAN FRANCISCO
STANDARD OIL COMPANY OF CALIFORNIA	SAN FRANCISCO
STAUFFER CHEMICAL COMPANY	SAN FRANCISCO
LEVI STRAUSS & CO.	SAN FRANCISCO
THOMASSER & ASSOCIATES	SAN FRANCISCO
TITLE INSURANCE AND TRUST COMPANY	LOS ANGELES
TUBBS CORDAGE COMPANY	SAN FRANCISCO
UNION SUGAR DIVISION, CONSOLIDATED FOODS CORPORATION	SAN FRANCISCO
UNITED CALIFORNIA BANK	LOS ANGELES and SAN FRANCISCO
WEIBEL CHAMPAGNE VINEYARDS	MISSION SAN JOSE
WELLS FARGO BANK	SAN FRANCISCO
WHISLER / PATRI ASSOCIATES	SAN FRANCISCO
DEAN WITTER & CO	SAN FRANCISCO
YOSEMITE PARK & CURRY CO	YOSEMITE NATIONAL PARK



WELLS FARGO BANK